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JERUSALEM

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(JÉRUSALEM)

Mesdames et Messieurs.

La petite académie que forme la "Palestine Oriental Society" a failli sombrer au cours de l'été dernier. Sa mort a été sérieusement discutée entre les membres d'un bureau fort réduit, un Board-rump, qui, finalement, décida d'accorder la vie sauve à ladite société. Un certain découragement, en effet, s'était manifesté à l'annonce du départ imminent du vice-président Mr. Albright, dépositaire des intentions du fondateur, M. Clay, et de l'absence prolongée du secrétaire de la première heure, le Rd. Dr. Herbert Danby, éditeur des neuf premiers volumes de notre Journal. Donc, à l'expiration des pouvoirs de M. Richmond, le distingué directeur du Service des Antiquités, il se produisit une crise ministérielle, la plus grave qu'ait jamais traversée la "Palestine Oriental Society." Si cette crise a reçu une solution satisfaisante, on le doit aux efforts du Dr. Canaan et de M. le pasteur Hertzberg.

Les raisons apportées en faveur du maintien de la société eurent assez de poids pour décider la continuation des séances, des publications et de l'administration de l'académie internationale hiérosolymitaine. Il était bon de conserver entre les milieux hétéroclites de la ville sainte un trait d'union de nature scientifique, quoique l'archéologie et même la philologie ne soient pas des terrains nécessairement pacifiques.

Au surplus, dissoudre la société, alors que le nombre des membres ne faisait que s'accroître, n'était-ce pas tromper la confiance du public? Avoir l'apparence de faire faillite au moment où les finances

étaient le plus prospères eût été le plus inexplicable des suicides. Une société comme la nôtre ne se retire pas, même après avoir fait de bonnes affaires.

Enfin, détail qui n'est pas de nature à déplaire aux collaborateurs du Journal, les demandes de la collection sont telles qu'il est question de réimprimer les numéros épuisés.

En présence d'un tel bilan il n'y avait qu'à reprendre en main l'œuvre commencée. Quelqu'un sans doute pourrait objecter: "Vous croyez donc que sans vous l'archéologie palestinienne deviendrait anémique, que les entreprises de fouilles feraient long feu, que les silex rentreraient sous terre et que le public ignorerait la découverte des remparts cananéens, des basiliques chrétiennes et des synagogues juives." Non, nous n'avons pas de pensée aussi ambitieuse. La société ne croit pas comme Chantecler faire lever le soleil. Mais elle a le droit de chanter quand le soleil se lève. Elle trouve bon de mettre au courant des découvertes récentes un public qui n'a pas le temps de visiter les chantiers de fouilles ou qui n'y comprend rien. Qu'y a-t-il de plus pénible aux explorateurs que l'indifférence ou l'inintelligence du milieu? Et puis Jérusalem a la primeur de tout ce qui se réalise au point de vue scientifique dans le domaine de la Palestine et environs, tandis que les lettrés d'Outremer doivent compter avec les lenteurs inhérentes à toute publication, si toutefois ils tiennent à une information de bon aloi. On a vu, par la légende du tombeau merveilleux de l'épouse préférée de Salomon, combien la diffusion rapide par radio ou par agence de publicité est sujette à caution.

Encore un motif que notre académie a de se maintenir dans l'existence: c'est l'intérêt de son Journal. Ce périodique publie des études qu'on chercherait vainement autre part. J'en veux pour témoin le dernier numéro (Vol. IX, 3-4) où vous avez trouvé une série d'articles tout-à-fait en situation comme palestiniens et variés comme sujets et époques traités. Avec M. Neuville vous êtes entraînés à travers un réseau de stations préhistoriques inédites. Le R.P. Mader vous présente un cadran solaire de Castellion. L'importance de la contribution apportée dans la topographie et le folk-lore de Pétra par le Dr. Canaan n'a échappé à personne. On voit aussi avec satisfaction M. Mayer poursuivre son Corpus des inscriptions arabes de Gaza.

Aujourd'hui, comme vous le voyez par le programme, le vent est à l'épigraphie. Les excavations récentes ont amené à la lumière de nombreuses inscriptions, des textes grecs surtout. On n'a qu'un regret au milieu de toute cette documentation, c'est de voir le sémitisme presque muet à côté de l'hellénisme si bavard. Il est vrai que même parmi les éléments étrangers absorbés par la culture des empires successeurs de celui d'Alexandre, le grec fut considéré comme la langue littéraire par excellence. On sait que Rabbi Jehouda, le préférerait à l'araméen. Les artistes en mosaïque aimaient beaucoup ces caractères carrés qui se prêtaient si parfaitement à des agencements angulaires et rectilignes.

Vous entendrez probablement parler tout à l'heure de ces immenses inscriptions byzantines amenées à la lumière par les travaux que dirige M. Crowfoot, directeur de l'École britannique d'archéologie à Jérusalem. Elles disent avec complaisance au visiteur des monuments de Djérash, l'auteur, la date, le vocable de l'église dont le riche pavement s'étend sous vos pieds et sous vos regards. Les archéologues regretteront peut-être de telles précisions qui coupent court au développement des hypothèses. Mais quelle base solide ces indications ne donnent-elles pas au diagnostic, à la classification des basiliques anonymes ?

Les synagogues ont aussi parlé, sauvant l'honneur du sémitisme par quelques lignes d'araméen. Elle ont sacrifié à la mode grecque cependant et même sacrifié le grec parfois comme à Beit Alfa qui nous livre un échantillon d'une Koinè indocte. Mais qu'importe cette indocilité à la grammaire et à l'orthographe, si cette prose sert à identifier un monument et ses auteurs, les personnages et les tableaux d'une mosaïque ? La poésie contournée de certaines inscriptions de Djérash nous est souvent d'une moindre utilité.

Aux imitations prétentieuses de la poésie homérique le fouilleur, tenu d'expliquer sa découverte, préfère des indications élémentaires telles que celles-ci : Voici Alexandrie, voici Memphis ; ça c'est Japhet, ça c'est un âne, ça les Gémeaux.

Nous serions quand même injuste de dauber avec insistance sur les littérateurs de Gérasa. Leurs productions s'harmonisent au mieux avec la décoration et le style des monuments qu'ils célèbrent. Elles compensent la perte des œuvres d'auteurs géraséniens dont nous ne possédons que les noms. Ces versificateurs byzantins continuent

en somme les traditions d'humanisme qui remontent à la fondation de la cité et se sont largement épanouies sous les Flaviens et les Antonins.

Parmi les 60 textes complets ou fragmentaires que les travaux de déblaiement conduit par M. Horsfield à Djérash ont amenés à la lumière et que M. Jones a publiés dans le tome XVIII du *Journal of Roman Studies*, le plus long et le plus intéressant est un décret honorifique émané d'une corporation que l'éditeur suppose à bon droit être la Compagnie universelle des artistes dionysiaques qui comprenait poètes épiques, tragiques et comiques, acteurs, choreutes et danseurs, musiciens, citharèdes, flûtistes et compositeurs, chanteurs, costumiers et décorateurs. Ces artistes réunis sous le patronage de Dionysos prenaient part aux jeux et aux fêtes organisées par la ville.

Le décret concerne un certain Titus Flavius Gerrenus que la cité d'Antioche au Chrysoroas, c'est-à-dire Gêrasa, avait élu comme *agonothète* c'est-à-dire organisateur et président des jeux. Ce titre et le privilège de la couronne et de l'habit rouge qu'il comportait étaient très onéreux et celui qui y faisait honneur laissait assez de plumes pour qu'il méritât que ses concitoyens et les concurrents aux jeux scéniques lui passent un peu de pommade. Ce personnage aura donc sa statue au théâtre et chaque artiste sera tenu sous peine d'amende de la couronner en se rendant au concours.

En dehors de la multitude des textes de Djérash, je me contenterai de rappeler des inscriptions isolées recueillies à Gaza, à Kérak, à Mādabâ, à l'Ophel même où le conte Eugène a usurpé un emplacement que David ou les Jébuséens s'étaient jadis réservé.

Mais je constate par les adresses précédentes qu'il n'est pas de la dignité du Président de se perdre dans le détail. Je m'en tiendrai donc à ce vague présidentiel pour laisser la parole aux membres inscrits qui ont quelque chose de particulier à nous communiquer.

TOPOGRAPHICAL RESEARCHES IN GALILEE*

II

AAPELI SAARISALO

(HELSINKI, FINLAND)

In the first number of the *Journal* for 1929 I published a list of sites in Western Galilee visited and studied during the months of July, August, and September, 1928, and also suggested some identifications. After the rainy season I continued my excursions in order to cover if possible the whole territory once assigned to the tribe of Asher. Before publishing this new material, I would like to correct some points in my previous paper.

Concerning Acre I must modify my suggestion of an uninhabited period in the history of its occupation. On the extensive and gradually sloping southwestern side of *tell el-fuhhār* I have found potsherds of the Early Iron Age II and III, representing the period 900-300 B.C. On the outskirts of the old fortifications of Acre I have studied the fresh excavations made by prisoners, and found that the present site of Acre was occupied as early as 400-300 B.C. It is true that according to the biblical evidence Accho is never mentioned between the early tribal period (Judges 1³¹) and the Roman Age (Ptolemais, Acts 21⁷). But Accho and Philistia are the only two names mentioned together with Dor (which was then the capital of an Assyrian province) in connection with a treaty between Esarhaddon and the king of Tyre.¹

Also Sennacherib mentions Acre in connection with his third campaign against Syria and Palestine and the siege of Jerusalem.²

* Unfortunately it has not been possible to have the proof of this article read by the author. Ed.

¹ SCHEIL, *Le Prisme S. d'Assarhaddon*, 1914, p. 37.

² "In my third campaign I went against the Hittite-land (Syria). . . Great Sidon,

Assurbanipal in his ninth campaign against the Arabian tribes destroyed utterly the population of Acre.¹ After this destruction Acre, *tell el-fuhhār*, was restored again according to its ceramic evidence and soon there was established a new seaport on the peninsula, about 400 B.C. Thus Acre continued its existence as a double city like Jamnia, while the new port grew in importance as a city during the Ptolemaic and the Roman period, and gradually the old town *tell el-fuhhār* became a suburb, *Καφαρεγχω*, כפר עכו.²

Referring to the suggestion that the course of *wādī šā'ab* was a natural connecting link between Acre and the line of ancient settlements along the plain of *medjdel krām* and *er-rāmeḥ* (JPOS, 9, p. 36), I must now say that according to oral information from Professor Alt the *wādī* in question is nearly impassable. Thus the present local road 'akka—*er-rāmeḥ* follows the course of the ancient road.

With regard to the identification of the biblical *bēt-ēmeq* (p. 36, footnote) I have come to the conclusion that instead of with the present village of 'amqā, which affords no earlier remains than those from the Hellenistic period, the biblical town is to be identified with the modern *tell mīmās*, (see JPOS, 9, pp. 38-39) which lies close to 'amqā. The rich spring of *tell mīmās* is still used by the village of 'amqā during the dry season. *Tell mīmās* is the only place with biblical remains in the neighbourhood of the village of 'amqā; the two other, *b. būda* and *b. el-mūneh* are out of the question.

The biblical *yānōaḥ* (2 Kings 15²⁹) has been identified with two modern sites, both of which are now called *yānūḥ*. The one is a village, which crowns a mountain top (about 700 m.) overlooking both the northern and southern plains of Acre, eight kilometres east

Little Sidon, Bit-Zitti, Šarīptu, Maḥalliba, Ushu, Akzib, Akku, his strong walled cities, where there were supplies (lit. fodder and drinking-places) for his garrisons,—the terrors of the weapon of Assur, my lord, overpowered them and they bowed in submission at my feet," cf. LUCKENBILL, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, vol. 2, pp. 118-119.

¹ "On my return march I captured the city of Ushu (Tyre). . . The insubmissive people of Akku I slaughtered. Their corpses I hung on stakes, surrounding the city (with them.) Those who were left I carried away to Assyria, joined them to (my) military organization, adding them to the many troops which Assur had given me," LUCKENBILL, *op. cit.*, p. 830.

² The commanding mound of *tell el-fuhhār* is one of the largest *tulūl* in Palestine, three kilometres in circumference, JPOS, 9, p. 28.

of 'amqā. According to its ceramic evidence this was inhabited during the Early Bronze and Early Iron Age, and can thus be proposed as the site of ancient *yānūḥ* better than the other *yānūḥ* near Tyre.

Five kilometres north of *yānūḥ* is a village called *m'aliā*, with a *ḥirbeh* just south of it, called *ḥ. 'aliā*. This village is situated in the midst of a fruitful valley and built on a typical and commanding mound, the debris of which exhibits potsherds of the Late Bronze in abundance, and some of the Early Iron. *M'aliā* might provisionally be identified with biblical 'alōt, which is mentioned in the list of Solomon's administrative divisions in connection with the tribe of Asher.¹

Dealing with the Roman road along *darb el-ḥawārneh* it may be added that I found an additional Roman milestone along the *darb el-ḥawārneh* just one Roman mile eastward from the first one found last summer, (see JPOS, 9, pp. 33-34). Unfortunately this was buried deeply in the ground and since I found it during my last few hours before my departure from Palestine I could not see any text nor had I time to move the stone.² Nevertheless the second milestone confirms the originality of the site of the first one, which is the tenth milestone from Acre.³ The direct distance on the map between *debbet el-ḥān* and Acre is however hardly eight Roman miles. But the plain between these two points is nearly impassable during the winter. Thus it would appear that the Roman road made a curve to the north probably via the line *el-berweh* and *et-tanṭur*, which is dotted with settlements of the Roman Age and is still used in the winter by travellers on the *darb el-ḥawārneh*.

With regard to the text of the first milestone, which I read last summer with the kind help of Professor Alt, I have to add that the number XIV of the sixth line must be read XIX. This number was so near the soil that it was at first difficult to decipher at all. The number XIX does not involve any difficulties. TRIB. POTEST. I lasted from the eleventh of August to the ninth of December, A.D. 117. So TRIB. POTEST. XIX (of the milestone) means the year

¹ Contrast ALBRIGET's study of Solomon's administrative districts, JPOS, 5 (1925).

² The Department of Antiquities will soon transport the former milestone to the Museum of Acre. They will also dig up the second stone and erect a cone on the spot of the former.

³ Unfortunately the Latin number X of the inscription was separated from the main body of the text by a printer's error and placed on the succeeding page.

between the tenth of December, 134, and the ninth of December, 135. The last TRIB. POTES. was the twenty-second, from the tenth of December, 137 to the tenth of July, 138, when Hadrian died. On the other hand, there were only three consular periods, namely I 108-117, II 118, III 119 and so on until the death of Hadrian. Thus the TRIB. POTES. XIX does not make collision with the COS. III, i.e. the third consulate.¹ Thus the milestone was erected immediately after the rebellion of Bar Cochba. Naturally there was need to build a first class military road directly through the heart of Galilee, known for its rebellious Jews.

A good hint for the topography of the coastal plain north of Acre is given us in an ancient book of travel, the so called Papyrus Anastasi I. There we read: "Where is the stream of *N-t-n*? [Liṭānī] What is *'I-t* like? [Old Tyre=Assyrian Usu on the mainland.] They tell of another city in the sea, Tyre-the-port is its name. Water is taken over to it in boats, and it is richer in fishes than in sand.—I will tell thee another misery—the crossing of *D-r-'-m*. Thou wilt say: "It burns more than a (hornet-) sting.!" How ill it goes with the Maher! Come, set me on the road southward to the region of Acco(?) Where is the road of Achshaph? Beside(?) what city (does it pass)?"⁴

The name of the locality referred to as *d-r-'-m* may possibly be an Egyptian transcription of a Semitic word, which might phonetically correspond to the Hebrew צִלְעִים, i.e. ribs, as the following *'d-m-m* corresponds to the Hebrew *'adummim*.⁵ In the expressive nomenclature of the Hebrew language we are often led to notice the early tendency to personify and treat as living creatures or members of the body the objects of the landscape. The Hebrew word צִלְע "rib," is used in speaking of the Mount of Olives

¹ Contrast JPOS, 9, 34. See e.g. WILLY LIEBENAM, *Fasti consulares Imperii Romani*, p. 107 (*Kleine Texte*).

² This locality is compared by MAX MUELLER with צִרְעָה, Σαρπη of Judges 18²; Josh. 19⁴¹, which was in Dan. This seems too far south for the context. DE ROUGÉ cleverly suggested that there is here a pun upon the Word צִרְעָה "hornets," see next sentence.

³ Not Achzib, contrast ED. MEYER, *Encycl. Bibl.*, p. 3733.

⁴ GARDINER, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, I (1911), p. 23.

⁵ SAARISALO, *The boundary between Issachar and Naphtali*, (Tiedeakatemia, Helsinki) p. 116.

(2 Sam. 16¹³, 'ἐκ πλευρᾶς τοῦ ὄρους).¹

Undoubtedly this point ("another misery") of the coastal road between Tyre and Acre must be the modern *rās en-nāqūra*, or its close neighbour *rās el-abyaḍ*. There are two steep promontories projecting into the sea from the commanding mountain ridge which still serves as the boundary between Syria and Palestine as well as between the districts of Tyre and Acre. From this ridge one obtains a view over the coastal plain as far south as Carmel (which also seems to be mentioned in the description of the Papyrus later on). At this point the question is asked. "Where is the road of Achshaph?"² Beside what city does it pass?" Here the few modern sites which exhibit ancient remains on the coastal road between the ridge and Acre, cannot be identified with Achshaph (*b. el-mu-šeirefeh*), *eṣ-ṣīb* (Achzib), (*tell es-semēriyeh*). It must be sought for farther from the coastal road, otherwise the writer would not speak of a "road of Achshaph." On the other hand the nearest inland settlements at that time (according to the present archaeological evidence) were situated on a line parallel with the coastal road, between the Galilee mountains and the coastal plain 1) *b. 'abdeh* (Abdon, Jos. 21³⁰), 2) the two sites at *en-nahr*, 3) *tell mīmas* (Beth-emek, Jos. 19²⁷) in the south. Achshaph cannot be farther east of the coastal plain, because it is described as 'a city which furnishes chariots of war.'³ Thus the northern and southern sites must be eliminated and only the middle one at the modern village *en-nahr* remains to be identified with Achshaph.⁴

Here we find the remains of two ancient settlements close at hand. The other, *et-tell*, is a typical mound. The plain is fertile and the watersupply (*en-nahr*=the stream) most abundant. The "'-k-ṣ-p'" of the Papyrus is without doubt to be read '*aksapa*, and

¹ Other words, used with this object in relation to mountains or hills are: ראש (head), Gen. 8⁶; Ex. 19²⁰; Dt. 34¹; 1 Kings 18⁴²—אזנות (ears), Jos. 19⁸⁴—כסלות (loins), Jos. 19^{12, 18}—אמה (elbow), 2 Sam. 2²⁴—כתף (shoulder), Dt. 33¹², Jos. 15^{8, 10}, 18¹⁶—ירכה (thigh, side, back), Jud. 9^{1, 18} 2 Kings 9²³, Isai. 37²⁴—צד (Side), 1 Sam. 23²⁶ 2 Sam. 13³⁴—שכם (back), Jos. 24³² etc.

² On Achshaph cf. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Rev. d'Assyriol.*, 19 (1922), p. 91f.; DHORME, *Rev. Bibl.*, (1924), p. 11; JIRKU, *Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.*, (1924), p. 64.

³ See, ALT, PJB, 20 (1924), p. 27

⁴ The village *en-nahr* is called by the Survey *el-kahweh*, which name is known among the present population.

to be identified with the biblical Achshaph. The Bible (Jos. 11¹; 12²⁰) and the list of Tuthmosis III both mention *-k-s-p* and Jos. 19²⁵ includes Achshaph in the territory of the tribe of Asher, in harmony with the Egyptian documents.¹ The question of the Papyrus, "Beside what city does it pass?" seems thus to refer to the city of Achzib, for at *ex-zib* the road of *en-nahr* most conveniently diverges from the coastal road.

I append to this a list of sites mentioned in this paper in addition to those of JPOS, 9, pp. 37-40.

'*akka*—outgoing EI III

tell el-fuhhār—MB, LB, EI I, II, III, H

'*amqa*—HRBA

ḥ. būda—RB

ḥ. mūneh—A

yānūḥ—EB, MB or LB, EI, BA

m' ālia—LB, EI, H, R, B, A

ḥ. mušairefeh—EB, MB, LB, H, R, B

ḥ. umm el-'amūd—LB, H, R, B, A²

¹ Achshaph was identified with the modern *ḥ. iksāf* near the *nahr el-qāsimīyeh* (which is too far north) by GUÉRIN, *Gal.*, II, p. 269 f., and later by GAUTHIER, *Dict. des noms géogr.*, p. 111, 112, 159 and DUSSAUD, *Topogr. hist. de la Syrie*, (1927), p. 6 etc.

² The site *ḥ. umm el-'amūd* may archæologically be identified with the Hammon of Jos. 19²⁸, and if the three first names of this verse are in geographical order Rechob could be identified with *ḥ. mušairefeh*, the first being Abdon (pro Ebron), i.e. *ḥ. 'abdeh*.

NEW LIGHT ON THE PEASANTS' REVOLT IN PALESTINE

APRIL-SEPTEMBER, 1834

ASAD JIBRAIL RUSTUM

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

In a former paper, on the nature of the risings in Syria-Palestine against the administration of Mehemet 'Alî Pasha, the writer of these lines attempted to stress personal feeling and interest as one important cause of these risings. He pointed out the fact that heavy taxation, forced labour, and military service were not enough to explain the Peasants' Revolt of 1834, and that such forces as the personal and material interests of the Abû Ghôsh family of Qaryat al-'Inab, and of the Qâsims, Djarrârs, and Tūkâns of Nablus, had to be taken into full consideration to make plain and intelligible some of the more obscure points in the history of these troubles.¹

Since the date of the former paper, a number of important Arabic documents have come to light. Through the assistance of one of his former students, Mr. Waṣfî 'Anabtâwî, and the kindness of Ibrahim Bey 'Abd ul-Hâdî, the author has been able to see, as well as copy and study an important section of the family archives of the 'Abd ul-Hâdîs. Ibrahim Bey has in his possession at the present time about thirty letters from Mehemet 'Alî Pasha, Ibrahim Pasha, and Shaykh Ḥusayn 'Abd ul-Hâdî to Shaykh Sulaymân 'Abd ul-Hâdî. All these letters deal with the disturbances of 1834, and they are all important. For our present purpose, however, the letter of Shaykh Ḥusayn 'Abd ul-Hâdî, governor of the province of Sidon, to Shaykh Sulaymân 'Abd ul-Hâdî, deputy governor of the same province, is of particular value. It is written on a piece of strong "abbadi" paper, and measures 21+31 cm. It reads as follows:

¹ *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, XLI, 34-57.

الجناب الاكرم حضرة وادنا الاجل المحترم وكيلنا بعكاً حالاً الشيخ سليمان حرسه الله تعالى بتاريخه صدر امر سعادة افندينا ولي النعم السر عسكر المعظم بان جميع الذين كانوا مستخدمين في باب عبد الله باشا لا يتمكنوا من الاقامة بالايالات السعيدة التي بخير حكومة دولة العلية بل يتوجهوا لغير محلات خارج الايالات المذكورة وان اذا كانوا يرغبوا يتوجهوا الى جانب محروسة القاهرة فتجمعوهم وتضعوهم في مركب وترسلوهم لمحروسة اسكندرية وأن الشيخ سعيد السعدي المقيم بالزيب فهذا يرعى القبض عليه ويرسل لمحروسة اسكندرية ويجرر منكم تحرير لسعادة زكي افندي مأمور الديوان الحديوي بذلك الجانب بخصوصه وانه مرسل منفي من هذه الديار الى الديار المصرية المحروسة كذلك بتاريخه صادر لكم امر شريف من لدن العواطف السنية بقتل متسلم يافا اسعد بك الخضر فيلزم ان كان بوصول الامر الشريف لم تقتلتم الشيخ عيسى الماضي متسلم صفدتقتلوه مع متسلم يافا باب البوابة تاديباً لهم وعبرة لغيرهم وان الشيخ مسعود الماضي اذا كان بوصول هذا وصل اطرافكم فتذبحوه على باب البوابة لزم افادتكم بما صدرت به الاوامر الشريفة فيلزم بوصول تحريرنا هذا حالاً جميعاً يوجدي عكاً من داية عبد الله باشا لا تمكنوهم من الاقامة في جميع الايالات السعيدة وان كان يرغبوا التوجه لمحروسة القاهرة ترسلوهم في مركب لمحروسة اسكندرية واما متسلمين يافا وصفد لا يحصل غفلة بقتلهم وكذلك ان كان حضر مسعود الماضي تذبحوه باب البوابة لاجل انفاذ الامر الشريف والشيخ سعيد

السعدى لا تجعلوا عاقبة بمسكه وارساله لمخروسة اسكندرية حسب منطوق
 الامر الكريم السر عسكري ولا يلزم لكم زيادة تأكيد بذلك والله يحفظكم
 في ١٣ ر ٢٥٠ سنة ١٢٨٠ من سحرا نابلس^(١) الختم محب مخلص
 واما الذي من دائرة عبدالله باشا
 ويقيم خارج عكا لا تقارشوه
 حسين عبد الهادي
 مديرا ايات صيدا حالا

“To our highly honoured and respected son — our present deputy in Acre — Shaykh Sulaymân. May God, Most High, guard and protect him. At the date of this writing, His Excellency our highly privileged and exalted Seraskier has ordered that all former officials of the palace-administration of ‘Abdullah Pasha be not allowed to remain in the happy provinces which are now within the area of his sublime administration. They must seek residence outside the above mentioned provinces. In case, however, they desire to go to Cairo, assemble them and ship them together to Alexandria. As for Shaykh Sa‘îd us-Sa‘dî, who resides at present in az-Zîb, he is to be put under arrest and sent to Alexandria. You are further requested to write a letter concerning him to Zakî Effendî of the Khedivial Council in that region and thus inform him that Shaykh Sa‘îd us-Sa‘dî is exiled from this land to the land of Egypt. At this same date of writing His Excellency has issued an order to you to put to death the governor of Jaffa — As‘ad Bey el-Khaḍr. Now, if by the time his noble order reaches you, you have not already executed Shaykh ‘Isâ-l-Mâḍî, governor of Safad, you are to kill him, together with the governor of Jaffa, at the portal of the city gate; as a punishment for their crimes and a warning to others. And if by the time you receive this message Shaykh Maṣ‘ûd ul-Mâḍî has reached you, you are to kill him at the portal of the city gate. It is necessary thus to inform you of His Excellency’s noble commands. Upon receipt of this letter it is accordingly necessary that you forthwith make it impossible for all members of ‘Abdullah Pasha’s staff to continue in any of the Happy Provinces, and should ship them together to Cairo via Alexandria in case they prefer to go there. As for the governors of Jaffa and Safad, see that you do not neglect

to execute them. In like manner, in case Mas'ūd ul-Mâdî has arrived, enforce the noble order and put him to death at the portal of the town gate.

Also, allow no difficulty to prevent the arrest of Shaykh Sa'īd us-Sa'dî and his despatch to Alexandria, as stated in the order of the Seraskier. No further emphasis do you need in regard to these matters. May God preserve you.

Ḥusayn 'Abd ul-Hâdî,

Governor of the Province of Sidon

Plain of Nablus, Rabī' I, 12, 250.

P.S. As for the members of the staff of 'Abdullah Pasha who reside outside Acre, do not interfere with them."¹

There is enough evidence in the kind and the size of the paper on which this letter is written, as well as in the style of its writing, to show that it is genuine. The seal of authentication which is used in its preparation is also the same as that used in the preparation of other documents of Shaykh Ḥusayn.²

In view of all this, and of Shaykh Ḥusayn's official position, as well as his personal friendship with Ibrāhīm Pasha, and the fact that he is addressing Shaykh Sulaymān and no other, the student of the history of this period can safely assume that Shaykh Ḥusayn is sincere in making this statement to Shaykh Sulaymān. As far as can be known, moreover, Shaykh Ḥusayn could not have gained any practical advantage from a deception of Shaykh Sulaymān in this matter; nor does he seem to have been placed in a situation which compelled him to violate the truth about Ibrāhīm Pasha's orders. Furthermore, Shaykh Ḥusayn, in his official capacity as governor of the province of Sidon, and his position as friend and supporter of Ibrāhīm Pasha, was in a very favourable condition to know such orders of the Seraskier in 1834. According to Ibrāhīm Pasha then, Shaykh Sa'īd us-Sa'dî, Shaykhs 'Isā and Mas'ūd ul-Mâdî, and As'ad Bey el-Khaḍr were, to a greater or lesser degree, all implicated in the troubles of 1834. What is of greater interest

¹ This is only a free rendering of the Arabic original. For the text in Arabic of similar documents from Palestine, See Rustum, A.J., *Materials for a Corpus of Arabic Documents Relating to the History of Syria under Mehemet Ali Pasha*—Advance Notice.

² Consult Foll. 1251 of the Library, American University of Beirut.

to the student of this period, however, is the fact that certain members of the staff of 'Abdullah Pasha were also suspected of the same kind of intrigue against the government of the day.¹ The author knows of no other available and important source of information that records such a specific charge against the staff of the former governor of Palestine. This section of the archives of the 'Abd ul-Hâdîs thus corroborates the author's original thesis as it appeared in 1924, and adds to the group of persons that were known to be implicated in the revolts of 1834 certain members of the staff of 'Abdullah Pasha.

¹ Why, according to the postscript, it should have been those who resided in Acre and no others, is a question which can not as yet be definitely answered. The fact that Acre was a stronghold in the zone of trouble and that some of the suspects were military men, may have been one reason for this distinction between the two categories of officials.

RECENT EPIGRAPHIC DISCOVERIES IN PALESTINE

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During my term as annual Professor in the American School of Oriental Research I have directed my attention in part to epigraphic materials. Through good fortune I have been able to discover some interesting material which will be of value to students of archaeology and which is presented in the following article.

Palmyrene Funerary Bust.

The American School of Oriental Research is in possession of a Palmyrene funerary bust of the type which has been so fully discussed by J. B. Chabot (*Choix d'Inscriptions de Palmyre*, Paris, 1922). The figure presents the conventional features with which we have become acquainted in books dealing with Palmyrene remains. It is set in high relief; the lines of the face are Greek rather than Semitic; over the head is thrown an 'izâr or long veil arranged so as to expose the band and ornaments which grace the forehead; from the ears hang pendants in cluster-formation; about the neck are set a necklet of jewels and a heavy chain caught with a jewelled clasp at the centre of the breast; heavy bracelets adorn the arms; the left hand holds a spindle and a distaff while the right hand gracefully holds the veil at the shoulder; the garment is held by a brooch below the left shoulder and the hair is drawn back over the tips of the ears and arranged so that a tress falls over each shoulder. The inscription is important because the first two names seem to have been rare in Palmyra, as I have not been able to find duplicates in the published lists of Palmyrene names.

The translation of the inscription is as follows:

Rattai (or Ratti) (רתאי), daughter
 of Rāhē (רהא) son
 of Taibbôl, wife
 of Jarhibôle
 son of Taibbôl,
 Alas!

I assume that both names are of Aramaic origin, the first being a formation of a II stem of a root meaning 'to admonish' or 'to correct' and the second a participial formation of I stem of a root meaning 'to observe'. It is not impossible that the names are derived from Arabic roots. The second name might also be that of the goddess Rea (𐤓𐤏) who was popular in the East as we know through Lucian (cf. BENSELER, *Griechische Eigennamen*). The name Taibbol 'servant of the god Bôl' is discussed by CLERMONT-GANNEAU in *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, vol. V, p. 41.

The style of the figure is almost an exact reproduction of that shown in Chabot's book, Plate XXX, 2.

A New Gezer Inscription

In December 1929 when a party from the American School visited the site of Gezer one of the members, Mr. Douglas James, found on that section of the hill where Macalister located the high altar a piece of pottery (2"×2¹/₂") bearing three Hebrew letters, חורם. The script is well executed* and archaic in style.

It is difficult to determine the date of an example of old Hebrew writing but it is probable that this example belongs to the middle period since the style is not so archaic as that of the jar-handle stamps nor as late as the square style of the second century. The shape of the ך may help to determine finally the value of that sign in the script of the Gezer Calendar which by some is believed to be ך and by others ך. (cf. MACALISTER, *Excavations in Gezer* II, p. 24). This fragment of pottery had evidently been overlooked at the time of Macalister's excavations.

* The letters were made by a sharp instrument before the clay was baked.

Rediscovery of a Samaritan Inscription

The Reverend Principal E. F. F. Bishop of the Newman School of Missions in Jerusalem recently directed my attention to a stone inscribed with Samaritan characters that lay in a passage in the main building of the School. The stone is a block of marble, $21'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$, finely cut, and presenting both a flat, smooth face which bears the inscription and a somewhat convex back. Evidently it belonged at some time to an important building which had been constructed in a period when good materials and good workmanship could be secured. The inscription which covers the flat surface is 19 lines in length, written in an archaic Samaritan script and fairly free from injury. The word-division is marked by dots. The text is Deuteronomy 4^{29-31a}. It varies from the Hebrew text in three instances, reading בְּקִשָּׁתָּם instead of בְּקִשְׁתָּם (v. 29), מִצְאָתָו instead of מִצְאָתָהּ (v. 29) and יִעֲזְבוּ instead of יִשְׁחָתְךָ (v. 31). The LXX departs from the Hebrew text to agree with this Samaritan text in the second instance. In all three instances the Samaritan is the superior text. Von Gall's critical edition of the Samaritan Pentateuch does not note the reading יִעֲזְבוּ .

In an attempt to trace the history of the stone, I found that in 1872 an Englishman, Mr. J. G. Pickard, obtained possession of a stone bearing a Samaritan text of Deuteronomy 4¹⁹⁻³¹. The stone had been found in a sand pit about one mile from Gaza and half a mile from the sea (cf. P.E.F.Q.S., 1873, pp. 118, 157f.). It was one of three inscribed stones found in the same place but before Mr. Pickard could negotiate with the man to whom they had been sold for building material the two larger stones had been scraped bare. The smaller one had escaped defacement only because it was not large enough for the purpose required. In the same pit marble pillars were discovered, "all of the same size and architecture". It was naturally assumed that the stone had belonged to a Samaritan synagogue at Gaza.

Mr. Pickard accompanied Clermont-Ganneau in his search for Greek inscriptions at Gaza and in its vicinity about the time of his discovery. It is clear, therefore, to what stone Clermont-Ganneau refers, when in his *Archaeological Researches* (1896, ii, 430) he reports that in 1874 he saw in a private residence in Gaza a Samaritan inscription of 19 lines, engraved on a marble block and accord-

ing to his recollection liturgical in character. He failed to make a transcription or to secure a photograph or a squeeze of the stone. Through a gentleman by the name of Pickett a squeeze was sent to the P. E. F. Society in 1873 but, so far as my knowledge goes, no publication of the text was made. Professor J. A. Montgomery in his book *The Samaritans* (Philadelphia, 1907, p. 277) regrets the loss of the stone to which Clermont-Ganneau refers.

I have no doubt that this marble block lying in the Newman School of Missions on which is inscribed in 19 lines the text of Deuteronomy 4^{29-31a} is the long lost stone. How it reached Jerusalem is now not easy to determine. As the School was at one time the home of Doctor Schick, the well-known archaeologist, it is not improbable that the stone had been purchased by or entrusted to him. The importance of the stone is obvious. It is one of the largest of the Samaritan monuments that have been preserved; and as the script exhibits the early archaic style, the same as that of the Shechem inscription of the Words of Creation which according to Montgomery and Rosen¹ must be dated anterior to the disruption of the Samaritans by Justinian, the stone is to be regarded also as one of the earliest Samaritan monuments that we possess.²

A New Gezer Boundary Stone

During my visit at the Newman School, Principal Bishop showed me another inscribed stone built into the wall of one of the buildings. As this structure was erected by Dr. Schick, he must have been responsible for setting the stone in the wall. The inscription, as now placed, is upside down but the script, even when studied in the proper position, puzzled me for some time. Eventually I discovered that it is one of the old boundary-stones of Gezer similar to those which Clermont-Ganneau secured in 1874 and 1881 and which are fully described in his *Archaeological Researches in Palestine* (1896), pp. 224-275. He informs us that after cutting two of these stones out of the rock in 1874, he lost possession of them and by accident in 1876 he learned that the better one had found its way *via* Jaffa into the Museum at Constantinople. As he took squeezes or made copies of the three, we are able to compare our

¹ ZDMG, XIV, 622.

² Examination of the script shows that Clermont-Ganneau's statements as to the age of the stone are not correct.

stone with them. It is clear, when the comparison is made, that our stone is not one of the three, although it is almost a duplicate of the stone said to be in Constantinople. The reading of that stone ran thus—AAKIO(Y) תחם גזר; and Clermont-Ganneau explains that the stone must have been a boundary mark (תחום=תחם) for Gezer set by some person of authority who bore the name Alcias. The other stones, though not so well preserved, confirmed his reading of the first one. Our stone has suffered a break just where this stone was fractured after it was cut out of the rock; but where it shows the letters KIO, our stone seems to have something like MO. But closer examination revealed that it had been broken just to the left of the last stroke of the M and, that the builder of the wall had fitted the fragment wrongly so that what is really a K is lying on its back, as it were, and, therefore, the stone originally read=[AA]KIO [Y] תחם גזר. Thus, 'our of the boundary stones of Gezer have been recovered.

The inscription, though not well executed, is an example of the early square Hebrew script. Because of the crude character of the letters it must be evident that the tradition of the square script was then not old and also that it had to undergo some changes before it reached the better style which is seen in some of the early ossuary and synagogue-inscriptions. The ך resembles quite closely ה; the ך is not sufficiently distinct from similar letters; and the ך has not yet developed the final form ך which appears first in the tomb-inscriptions of the second century A.D. (cf. *Encyclopaedia Judaica* II, 422 f.). The fortunate juxtaposition of the Greek characters with the Hebrew is of assistance for the determination of the date of appearance of the square script. Evidently it must have been about the time when such Jewish names as Hilkiah were being graecized. By the use of this and other evidences we may assume that the square script was coming into use in the second century B.C. (cf. Clermont-Ganneau, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-264). The Greek script, in particular the letters A and K, is older than the palaeography of the coins of Herod the Great. This Gezer boundary-stone may therefore be dated in the second or first century before our era and probably in the former rather than in the latter. The troubled times of the first century were rather inimical to that exercise of Jewish authority over Gezer which is implied in the act of marking

its boundaries. Some date about the time of Simon (142-134 B.C.) who cleansed the city and prepared it as a place of residence for himself and his son or of John Hyrcanus (134-104 B.C.) who received it again from Antiochus VII Sidetes through the influence of the Romans seems to be preferable. (cf. SCHUERER, *GJV*, I, 206 f.)

As Gezer was a Levitical city (Josh. 21²¹; 1 Ch. 6⁶⁷) we may assume that the boundary stones marked the outer bounds (גבול) of the common or public pasture ground (מנרש) that extended to a distance of 2000 cubits in each direction from the proper limits of the Levitical cities (Num. 35²⁻⁵). They served also to define the territory within which the homicide fleeing to a city of refuge found sanctuary (Num. 35²⁶⁻²⁷) and eventually they indicated the sabbath-bounds or the limits of the Sabbath day's journey (cp. Acts 1²; *Jew. Enc.*, sub. *Sabbath*, 'Erube Tehumim).

Two Seals

Two seals which were found recently in a tomb-cave at Abu Ghôsh were brought to me for examination. The first is an Aramaic seal, made of carnelian, measuring 1.2 cm. \times 1 cm and cut so as to form the signet of a ring. The legend is

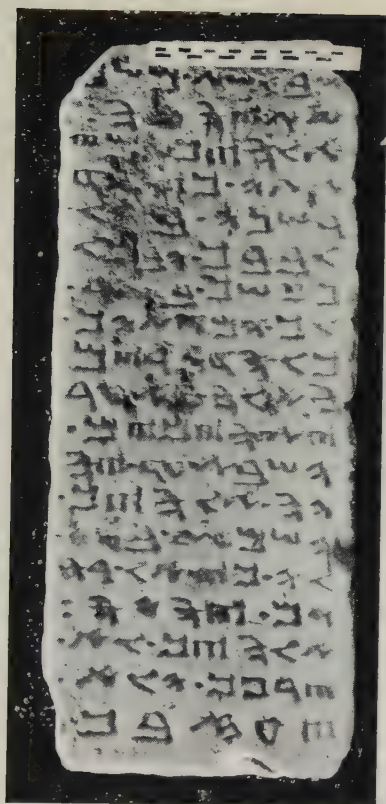
לחלליו
ברת מתאי

TO HILLELIAU.
DAUGHTER OF MATTAL.

The lapidary has executed the script carelessly, crowding the letters at the beginning of the upper line and at the end of the lower. The letters רי and ם are not well formed and the dot at the end of the second line has been merged with the upper stroke of the י.

The other seal is a scaraboid of the Syro-Hittite type. The material is blue chalcedony of a *nil* or indigo blue colour and has been cut in an oblong shape and bored so that it might be worn on a string. The measurements are 2 cm. \times 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm. The seal is broken at the lower left corner and the design has suffered through age. The principal figure is a bearded deity, seated and wearing a conical cap. He is clothed with only a short tunic or kilt. In his

right hand he holds a whip the lash of which bends over his head and terminates in two thongs, while in his left he carries a staff and a battle axe arranged in a V shape. In front of him and apparently walking away from him is a small nude figure. Behind the god is a diminutive animal, probably a bull. These are characteristic marks of the Hittite god, Teshub, whose weapons recalling those of the Babylonian god Adad, indicate that he is the god of the thunder-storm. The seal is in view of its form to be regarded as a later imitation of a Syro-Hittite design.



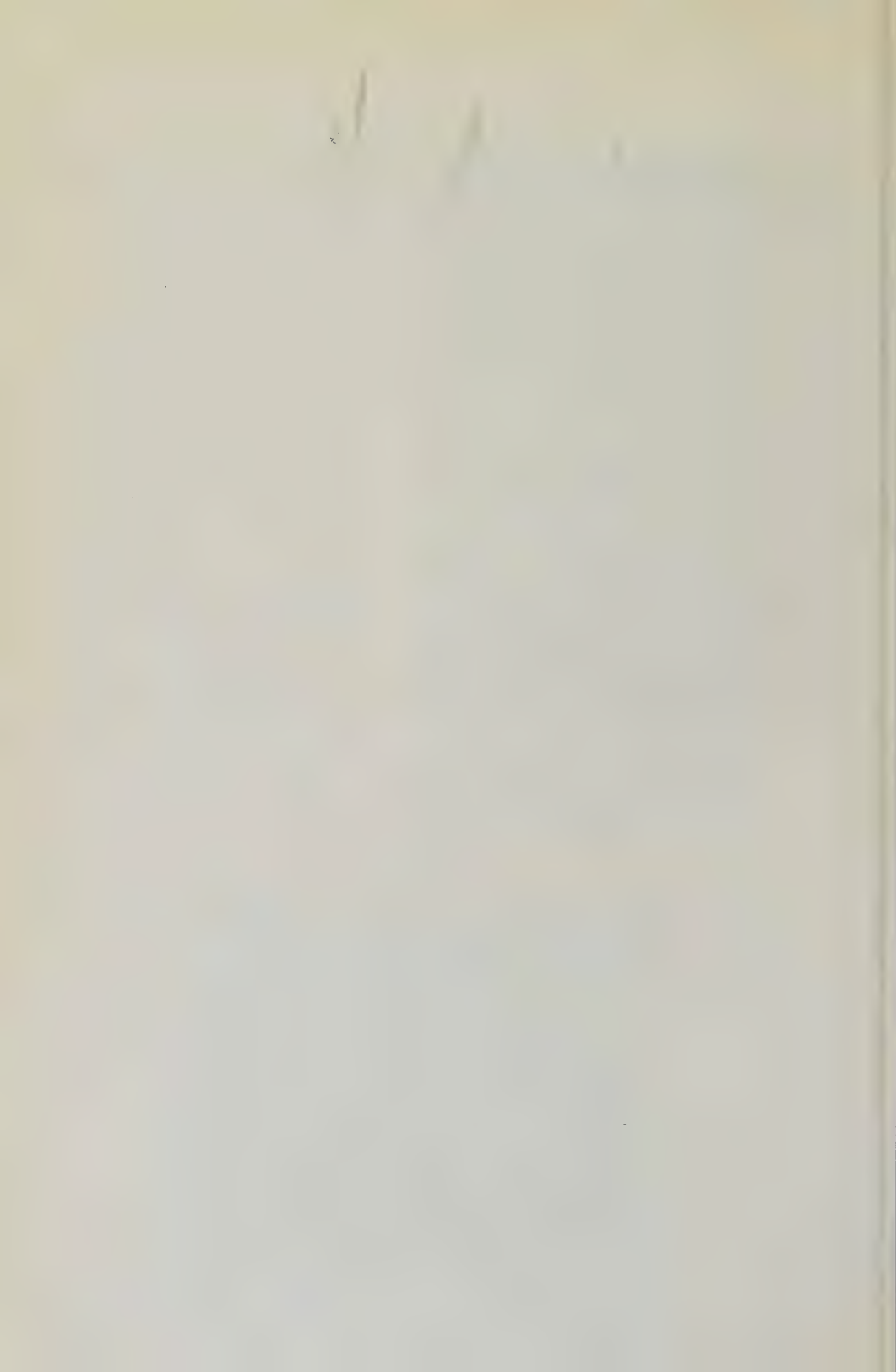
[.y] w y . n w d g
 . ʔ[ʔ] ʔ m . n x
 m y ʔ . ʔ m ʔ < x
 ʔ n . m y . ʔ n x
 . < [y] g . ʔ y w ʔ
 . < y g ʔ . y g g <
 . ʔ [m] g . y w ʔ y
 . y ʔ x m y ʔ . y <
 . y m ʔ g ʔ ʔ . < y
 ʔ ʔ x [ʔ] . ʔ < x ʔ
 . y m y m ʔ . n m
 ʔ m . ʔ ʔ . n g w ʔ
 . y m ʔ < n . ʔ ʔ
 . [ʔ x] g . n ʔ y w ʔ
 ʔ ʔ . < n . m y . ʔ <
 : ʔ ʔ ʔ m . y ʔ
 . x < . y m ʔ < n
 . n < ʔ . y ʔ ʔ m
 . y g ʔ ʔ m

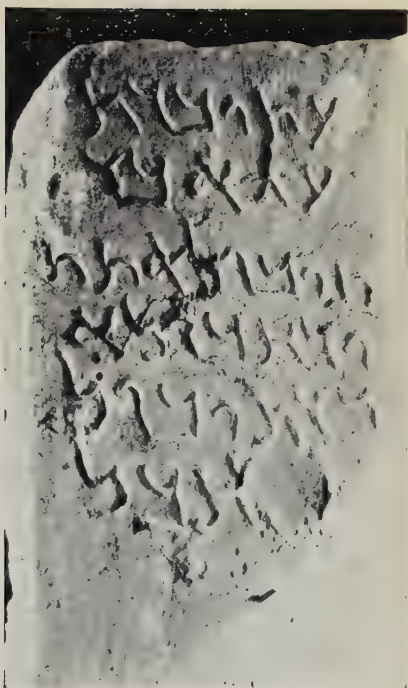
Samaritan Synagogue
Inscription



Inscribed Sherd from Gezer

Photographs by D.E. McCown





Palmyrene Funerary Bust.



- A. Aramaic Seal
- B. Syro-Hittite Seal
- C. Boundary Stone of Gezer discovered by Clermont-Ganneau.
- D. The recently discovered Boundary-Stone of Gezer.

Photographs by D.E. McCown

SAMAGA=ES-SĀMIK

FRIEDRICH STUMMER

(FREISING)

Flavius Josephus nennt Antt. XIII, 255 und B. J. I 62 unter den von dem Hasmonaeer Johannes Hyrkanus (135-104) eroberten Städten neben Madaba auch Σαμυχα (Σαμοχα). Meines Wissens war Alois Musil der erste, der diesen Ort mit dem heutigen *es-sāmik* (السامك), beduinische Aussprache *es-sāmeč*) identifizierte,¹ und sein Vorschlag dürfte ziemlich allgemeine Anerkennung gefunden haben. Adolf Schlatter hat zwar gemeint,² die Lesart Σαμυχα bevorzugen zu sollen, und hat die Ortschaft mit dem heutigen *es-sumije* bei *ḥesbān* identifiziert. Soviel ich sehe, hat er aber keinen Anklang gefunden, und zwar mit Recht. Ist ihm doch selber nicht entgangen, dass die Lesart Σαμυχα stark und gut bezeugt ist; wichtiger aber scheint mir, dass die unter dem Gesichtspunkt der militärischen und politischen Geographie wenig bedeutsame Lage von *es-sumije* es nicht recht verständlich erscheinen lässt, warum der Ort neben Madaba genannt sein sollte. Lokalisiert man dagegen Samaga in *sāmik*, so begreift man ohne weiteres, dass Johannes Hyrkanus auf den Besitz dieser Örtlichkeit Wert legte. Denn der Punkt führt den Namen „der Hohe“ (السامك von سَمَك „être haut, élevé“³) nicht umsonst; ist er doch eine weithin sichtbare Landmarke, die von A. Musil wie von R. Brünnow und A. v. Domaszewski bei ihren geographischen Aufnahmen oft angepeilt wurde. Auch dürfen wir als sicher annehmen,

¹ *Anzeiger d. Kais. Akademie d. Wiss. phil.-hist.* Wien 1903, S. 180; *Arabia Petraea I*, Wien 1907, S. 123.

² ZDPV XIX (1896) S. 232.

³ S. BELOT s. v.

dass sich die Umwandlung des antiken in den modernen Namen in aller Ruhe und Natürlichkeit vollzog, ungestört durch das Bedürfnis, sich durch Hinweis auf einen interessanten Punkt von Pilgern und Touristen einen Bakschisch zu verdienen; denn das Ostjordanland wurde ja jahrhundertlang kaum besucht, und wieviele von den wenigen, die hinüber kamen, werden sich wohl für den von Josephus nur zweimal erwähnten Ort interessiert haben!

Obwohl aber *es-sāmik* von den eben genannten Forschern beachtet und als Orientierungspunkt benützt wurde, wird doch, soweit ich sehe, nirgends eine Beschreibung gegeben. Es ist deshalb vielleicht nicht unwillkommen, wenn ich die Beobachtungen mitteile, die ich bei einem Besuch des Punktes gemacht habe. Ich kam nach *es-sāmik* am 23. März 1929 über *ḥesbān* und *ḥirbet-el-'āl* in Begleitung eines älteren Führers aus Madaba. Wenn man bei Brünnow-Domaszewski liest¹: "...es-Sāmik, Umm-el-Amad, et-Tunaib usw. tragen alte Städteruinen", so kann das auf den Besucher von *es-sāmik* im ersten Augenblick nur enttäuschend wirken. Was er sieht, ist im Vergleich etwa zu *ḥesbān* und *ḥirbet-el-'āl* recht armselig. Er sieht nur noch den Rest eines quadratischen Turmes aus grossen, kaum oder nur roh behauenen Steinen. Er bildet den Mittelpunkt von zwei konzentrischen, dem Auge noch deutlich wahrnehmbaren Kreisen. Diese sind zweifelsfrei Reste von Mauern (eventuell Ringwällen). Der Halbmesser des äusseren Rings beträgt etwa 120 Schritt, also schätzungsweise 80-90 m. Die Anlage hat mich stark an *tell el-fūl* erinnert, wo ja auch das von Albright ausgegrabene Bauwerk im Mittelpunkt von zwei konzentrischen Ringen steht, die den Abhang des Hügels zugleich terrassieren, aber viel zu regelmässig verlaufen, um als natürliche Bildungen gelten zu können. Es sind vielmehr offenbar zwei Befestigungsringe, in deren gemeinsamem Mittelpunkt die von Albright aufgedeckte Akropolis steht. In *es-sāmik* ist von einer Terrassierung des Bodens durch die erwähnten Ringe nichts zu merken. Das hängt zweifellos damit zusammen, dass die Böschung des Kegels, auf dessen Spitze der der Akropolis entsprechende Turm steht, sehr sanft ist. Ein literarisches Zeugnis für eine innere und äussere Mauer in einer palästinischen Stadt ist der Bericht des Flavius Josephus über die Eroberung von

¹ R. BRÜNNOW u. A. V. DOMASZEWSKI, *Die Provincia Arabia* I, Strassburg 1904, S. 2.

Japha in Galilaea (B. J. III, 289-306); einen archäologischen Beleg haben kürzlich die Ausgrabungen in *tell en-naṣbe* geliefert.¹

Auf der ganzen Ruinenstätte ist kein Stein, von dem man annehmen möchte, dass er unter den Händen eines hellenistischen Steinmetzen gewesen wäre. Soweit Steine offen herumliegen, stammen sie zweifellos vom Turm in der Mitte. Auch einem römischen Baumeister kann man dessen rohes Mauerwerk nicht zutrauen, noch weniger einem byzantinischen oder arabischen; dazu ist das Mauerwerk zu klotzig. Mir scheint, dass man den Turm in die vorhellenistische Zeit datieren muss; wie weit man allerdings in diese Periode zurückgehen darf, ist äusserst schwer zu sagen, zumal uns die Keramikfunde auch nicht weiter helfen. Denn der Scherbenbelag ist sehr spärlich und uncharakteristisch. Etwas reichlicher wurde er merkwürdigerweise, als wir auf dem Rückweg nach Madaba in die kleine Talmulde am Südrand des Hügels *es-sāmik* hinunterkamen; offenbar war ein Teil des Scherbenbelags im Laufe der Jahrhunderte durch die Winterregen allmählich heruntergeschwemmt worden. Aber charakteristische Stücke fanden sich auch hier nicht. Jedenfalls fand ich keine einzige Scherbe, die sich mit Grund in die hellenistische Zeit oder in eine spätere Periode hätte datieren lassen. Auch die sonstigen Reste aus dem Altertum liessen sich nicht sicher zeitlich festlegen. Ich bemerkte die Spuren einer von *es-sāmik* gegen Süden führenden Strasse, bestehend in zwei parallel laufenden niedrigen Steinhaufen. Vielleicht datiert sie also aus der Römerzeit. Auf dem Wege nach Madaba sind in unmittelbarer Nähe einige kleine Steinbrüche und einige Cisternen zu sehen, die nicht mehr in Benutzung sind, sondern den Tauben zum Unterschlupf dienen. Sie sind ohne jeden Kunstaufwand angelegt. Ob eine Grabung genauere Aufschlüsse über die Zeit der Besiedelung geben würde, wage ich nicht zu hoffen. Meines Erachtens kann der gewachsene Boden nicht tief unter der heutigen Oberfläche liegen.

Zunächst besteht also zwischen der literarischen Bezeugung von Samaga in der hellenistischen Zeit und dem archäologischen Befund auf *es-sāmik* eine offensichtliche Unstimmigkeit, da sich Reste, die der hellenistischen Epoche zugewiesen werden können, nicht finden. Ich glaube aber nicht, dass wir gezwungen sind, die Gleichung Samaga=es-sāmik aufzugeben. Daraus, dass die Eroberung Samagas

¹ PEF, *Quart. Stat.*, 1930, S. 12.

dem Johannes Hyrkanus und seinem Volke so wichtig war, dass noch Flavius Josephus von dieser Tatsache wusste, folgt ja noch lange nicht, dass der Ort im kulturellen Leben der Landschaft etwas bedeutete. Er konnte zur Zeit des Hellenismus existiert haben, ohne im mindesten von der Welle dieser Bewegung erfasst worden zu sein. Wie manches Dorf gibt es im modernen Palästina, das, würde es heute zerstört und für immer verlassen, späteren Archäologengeschlechtern nicht durch die kleinste Hausruine, auch nicht durch ein Bruchstück eines „Tenneken“ verriete, dass es im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert bestanden hat! So kann auch das Fehlen hellenistischer Überreste auf *es-sāmik* sich einfach daraus erklären, dass die Kultur des Hellenismus das alte Samaga nicht erreicht hat.

TWO DOCUMENTS ON THE SURRENDER OF JERUSALEM¹

T. CANAAN

(JERUSALEM)

It is not intended to give the historical details of the surrender of Jerusalem in December 1917. The sole purpose of this paper is to place two original documents on record which are of special importance to the student of history.

The first document is a Turkish letter written by the *mutaşarrif* (governor) of Jerusalem and addressed to the British Commander. It was written on a non-official paper, which bears the water-mark "Prospero." The governor must have written the same very hastily, for, 1. in two places words were changed by striking out the uncorrect ones, and 2. the ink was not allowed to dry nor was it blotted properly. Thus in folding the letter few small blotches arose.

The second document is an Arabic letter written by *Husên Effendi Salîm el-Huseinî*, the acting Mayor of Jerusalem, and addressed to the *Muftî* of the Holy City (later the Grand Mufti) *Kâmel Effendi el-Huseinî*. It seems that the writer tore the second half of the double sheet on which the *Mutaşarrif* had written the above mentioned Turkish letter and used it for his letter. For the Arabic document bears the same watermark "Prospero." The mayor wrote his letter in *Ismâ'il Bey's* house. One single letter is effaced (the first letter of the fourth line). *Ismâ'il Bey* inserted one line at the bottom of the document, and signed the same.²

¹ I have to express my thanks to Mr. O. Lind for allowing me to use the photograph.

² The authenticity of both documents was certified officially, in presence of the President of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Shelly, by *Ismâ'il Bey* who is still

A few words have still to be said in explanation of these documents. The letter of the Turkish Governor addressed to the British Commander and handed over to the Acting Mayor of Jerusalem at 3 o'clock in the morning of the 9th December, 1917, was never remitted to the addressee. For at the meeting held at Ismâ'il Bey's house the three present notables of Jerusalem (the Mufti, the Acting Mayor and Ismâ'il Bey) decided to keep this original document and to hand Jerusalem over to the British verbally. This resolution had its cause in the fact that they were afraid in case the Turkish army should recapture Jerusalem, in a counter-attack, they might be accused by the entering Turkish Commander as traitors. The two documents were therefore kept in the safe of the Mufti.

The two documents with their translation follow (see plate 3):

انکلیز قوماندانلی

- 1 هر ملتجه مقدس اولان قدس شریفده ایکی کوندن بری بعض
اما کن ابوسلر
- 2 دوشمکده در حکومت عثمانیه جه صرف اما کن دینه یی تخریدن

living. His son Jauâd signed as a witness. This certificate is typewritten and runs as follows :

(Signature of Ismâ'il Bey in Arabic)

Please note that this signature in Arabic is the same as that upon the above-mentioned photograph ;

It is Ismail Bey Huseini's as per other side in English ;

Witness to same^a

(signed)

Jawad Huseiny

I hereby certify to the above as a photograph

of the original held by Mr. Lind.

(signed in English)

Ismail Huseini.

We hereby certify to the above signatures as being that of Ismail Bey's in English and in Arabic.^b

(Seal) Chamber of Commerce

Jerusalem.

(within the seal there is the signature of the President)

E. Shelly.^c

^a. In the handwriting of Jauâd Huseini.

^b. The three lines are typed in capital letters.

^c. No date is inserted.

وقایہ عسکرینی

3 قصبہ دن چاکش وقامہ ومسجد اقصی کی اماکن دینہ نک

محافظہ سنہ مامور لر

4 اقامہ ایتمشدر

5 طرفکردن ده بویولده معاملہ ایدیلہ جکی امیدیلہ اشبو ورقہ بی

بلدیہ رئیسی

6 وکیلی حسینی زاده حسین بک ایله کوندریورم افندم

قدس مستقل متصرفی

عزت

۲۳/۱۲/۹-۸ ل

To the English Command,

1. Since two days howitzer-shells are falling on some places in Jerusalem which (city) is sacred to all nations.¹
2. (Therefore) the Ottoman Government, for the sole purpose of protecting the religious places, has withdrawn her soldiers from
- 3-4. the city.² And she installed officials to protect the holy places such as the Holy Sepulchre and the Aqsa Mosque
5. with the hope that the same treatment (of the places) will also continue from your side. I am sending this letter to you by the Acting Mayor
6. : Husên Bey el-Huseini Sir
- Mutaşarrif of the independent Jerusalem
- 8-9, 12, 33 (district)
- (Signed) 'Izzat

¹ ملة means also religion.

² فصة stands also for the "seat of the Government."

جناب ابن العم مفتي افندي المحترم

1 في الساعة الثالثة (افرنجية) صباحاً طلبني المتصرف بك
فذهبت لعهده

2 ووجدته على اهبة السفر فعرفني ان القول اوردوا انسحب

3 لجهة العيزرية واعطاني تحرير لقائد الجيش الانكليزي

4 مآله انه حرمة اللاماكن المقدسة الجيش العثماني

5 كف القتال عن القدس وعرفني ان اذهب صباحاً

6 مستصحباً براءة بينضاء لتسليم التحرير المذكور فبناء عليه

7 ارجوكم ان تشرفوا لبيت العم اسماعيل بك بعد ساعة

8 كي نتعاهد قبل مواجعتي القوماندان الانكليزي مولاي

9 ١٠ صباح ٩ كانون اول سنة ١٣٣٠

10 الساعة ٥ غربي حسين سليم الحسيني

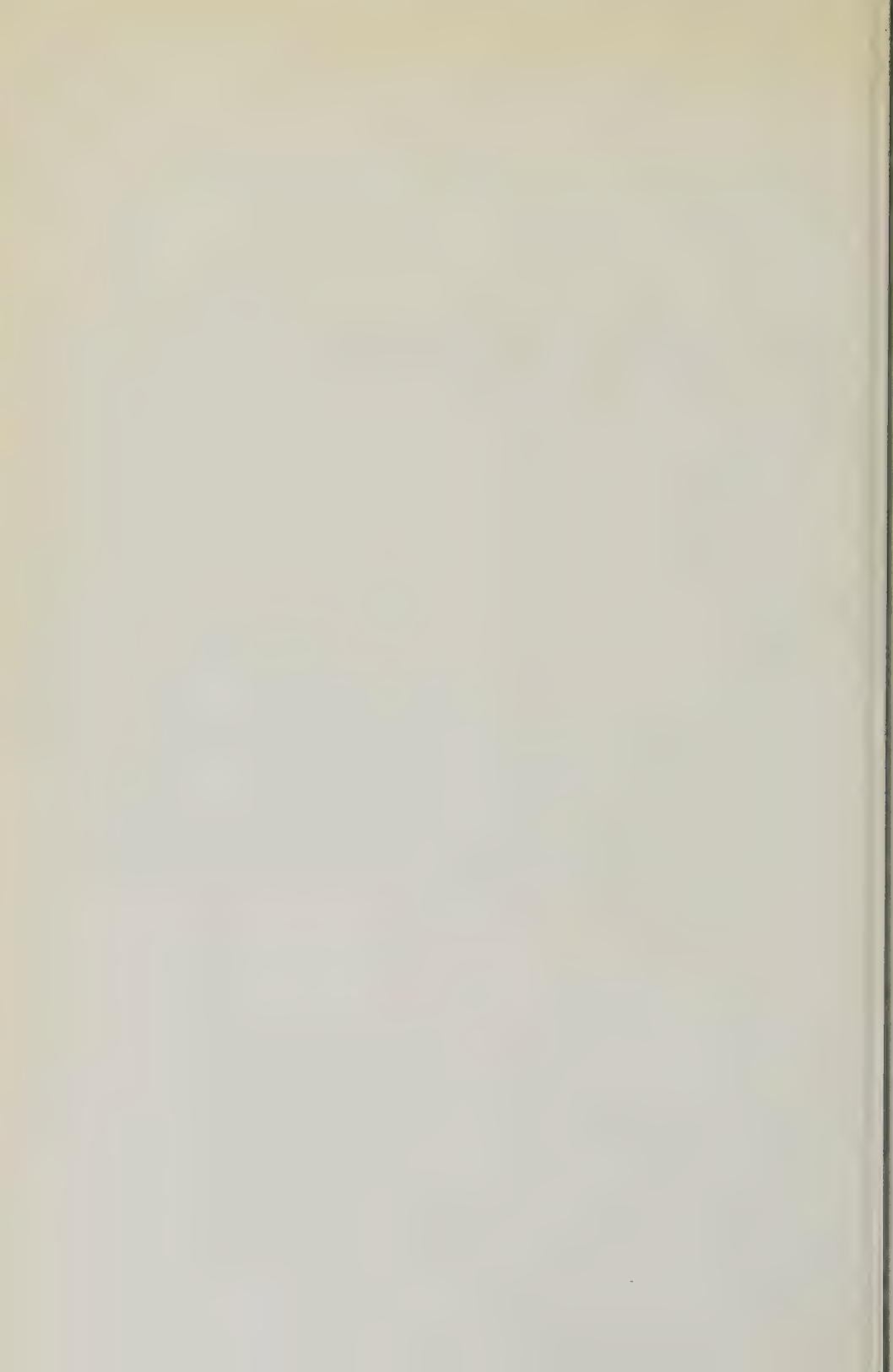
11 تأمل سرعة الحضور نحن بالانتظار

12 اسماعيل حسيني

(His) Excellency¹ (our) cousin (the) Muftî Effendi, the Respected,

1. At 3 o'clock (occidental) in the morning the Mutaşarrıf Bey sent for me. I went to him
2. and found him ready to depart and he informed me that the army corp had retreated
3. in the direction of Bethany. He gave me a letter to the Commander of the British army,

¹ Hava, Arabic-English Dictionary, p. 96.



4. the contents of which are that, due to the sacredness¹ of the Holy Places, the Ottoman army
 5. has stopped the fight for Jerusalem. He instructed me to go in the morning
 6. accompanied by a white flag to deliver the mentioned letter. For this reason
 7. I beg you to honour (with your presence)² after an hour the house of (our) cousin Ismâ'il Bey
 8. to consult before I interview the English Commander. My Lord
- (Signed) Ḥusên Salîm el-Ḥuseinî

In the morning of Dec. 9, (13) 33.

at 5 o'clock occidental.

We hope for a quick arrival. We are waiting.

(Signed) Ismâ'il el-Ḥuseinî.

¹ حرمة also : untouchable condition.

² The words in parenthesis in the Turkish and Arabic translations are not found in the original.

THE PROBLEM OF THE SITE OF BETHSAIDA

CHESTER McCOWN

(JERUSALEM)

The problem of the site of Bethsaida and the closely related question as to scene of the Feast of the Five Thousand in the Gospel narrative is old and worn. Yet it lends itself to the consideration of problems of procedure in the investigation of Gospel topography and for that reason it has been chosen as the subject of this paper, which is a study in methodology, rather than in topography *per se*. The problem to be examined is the interpretation and value of the topographical allusions in the four evangelists. What do their allusions to Bethsaida imply, and are they correct?

Nearly all archaeologists and critical students of the Gospels agree that there was but one Bethsaida, and that on or near the shores of the Sea of Galilee on the east side of the Jordan. But there persists a belief, represented and fostered by certain popular Bible dictionaries, that there must have been a second Bethsaida on the western shore of the lake not far from Capernaum. The rigid interpretation of the Gospel accounts is said to demand this second city. This paper attempts to study the grounds for these two views and to indicate the bearing of critical studies of the Gospels upon them. Even critical students have often failed to observe the relation of current studies of the Synoptic problem to the interpretation of Gospel data.

NON-CHRISTIAN EVIDENCE

The ultimate starting point for the interpretation of the Gospel allusions to Bethsaida must be sought in the much more detailed and precise statements regarding the city which are found in other literature.

Bethsaida does not appear in Old Testament or in later Jewish writings except in more or less colorless allusions in the scribal literature, where it appears as Saidân. It is mentioned in the second century of the Christian era as a place noted for pheasants (Kohemoth Rabba 2 on Eccl. 2.8) and a place where three hundred kinds of fish could be collected in one vessel (Jer. Talm. Shek. 50^a; Ginzberg, *Jerushalmi Fragm.*, p. 135. ציידון). It is also the birthplace of certain Tannaim, Abba Judan, and Rabbi Jose.¹ None of these allusions have topographical significance.

Josephus refers to the place more often and at greater length than any other ancient writer. In *Antiquities*, 18, 28 (2,1), he says that Philip the Tetrarch advanced the village of Bethsaida which was beside Lake Gennesaret (πρὸς λίμνην τῇ Γεννησαρίτιδι) to the dignity of a city by increasing the number of its inhabitants and its other resources and called it after Julia, the daughter of Augustus. As Julia, who had married Tiberius, was divorced and exiled by her father in 2 B.C. because of misconduct, the rebuilding and renaming of the city must have taken place between the time of Philip's accession in 4 B.C. and that of her disgrace, that is at the very beginning of Philip's reign.² Here apparently Philip erected his mausoleum, and here he died in 34 A.D.³ Elsewhere Josephus refers to the city as being in lower Gaulanitis, though at the northern end of the eastern mountain range. It was at the western limit of Philip's territory. The Jordan flows past it (μετὰ πόλιν Ἰουλιᾶδα) before entering the lake.⁴ In all this Josephus is quite consistent, except in naming the city in connection with the northern end of the eastern mountain range; (τὸ περὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ὄρος ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ Ἰουλιᾶδος καὶ τῶν βορείων κλιμάτων), a very slight inaccuracy for Josephus.⁵ Pliny mentions it with Hippos as being on the east side of the lake.⁶ According to all of these statements, the city is to be

¹ S. KLEIN, *Monatschrift f. Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 59, pp. 167 f., and *Enc. Judaica*, iv, col. 429, art., "Bet Zaida;" DALMAN, *Orte und Wege Jesu*, 4th ed., pp. 175 and 176, n. 1. DALMAN places Saidetâ, which NEUBAUER, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 225, identifies with Bethsaida, and which is the biblical Neqeb (Josh 19.33), elsewhere.

² So SCHUERER, *GJV*, II (5 ed.), 208 f., and n. 483.

³ *Ant.*, 18, 108 (4.6).

⁴ *BJ.*, 4, 454 (8,2); 3, 57 (3,5), 515 (10,7).

⁵ *BJ.*, 4, 454 (8,2).

⁶ *Hist. nat.*, 5 15, 15.

found on the eastern side of the Jordan, close to the lake.

Josephus' description of his campaign against the Romans in the vicinity of Julias¹ entirely agrees with the preceding data. The place was near the Jordan and beyond the Jordan from Tarichaeae, from which it was easily reached by ship. In the neighborhood were marshy ground and a plain where calvary could be used in close proximity to mountain ravines.

All of this suits admirably the plain el-Baṭiḥa, or Ebtḥa, which lies just east of the Jordan where it flows into the lake. On the western side of the river the land rises very quickly from the bank to the rocky offshoots of the mountains of Upper Galilee. El-Baṭiḥa, on the contrary, spreads out for a distance of two miles or more along the Lake to the southeast of the mouth of the Jordan and runs back for over a mile to the mountains. Besides the Jordan, which now contributes two or three irrigation ditches to it, it is watered by the flow of three important wadis from the mountains at the northeast. It is so well watered that the greater portion of it is impassable during the rainy season, and even at the end of October, when no rain has fallen for six months, it is necessary to pick one's way carefully in order to pass dry shod across it. It is too wet for the planting of winter grain, but in summer it produces fine crops of dura and maize. It supports a fine orange grove near the lake.

Just where the city of Philip could have been situated is a problem that is still far from solution. It has usually been placed at et-Tell, a small mound on the northern edge of the plain, a half mile or more from the Jordan river.² There are serious reasons for doubting this conclusion. Not only is the tell too far from the lake, but up to date no Roman or Hellenistic pottery has been found there. The evidence does not even support the hypothesis, now widely accepted, that the acropolis and castle of Herod Philip were built at the tell, the fishing village by the sea at el-'Araj or el-Mes'adiyah. Somewhere on or near this plain, to be sure, the city of Philip must have stood. Just where it was placed is a point still in dispute, which the present paper does not propose to broach.

¹ *Vita*, 398-406 (71 ff.).

² See RICHARD POCOCKE and SEETZEN; ROBINSON, *Biblical Researches*, II ed. (1874), 2, p. 413. GUÉRIN, *Descr. de la Pal., Galilee* 3, pp. 329-58.

The exact position of Bethsaida Julias on the plain does not affect the Gospel narratives. One place on the plain or in its neighborhood will suit as well as another. It is more important to know whether, as exegetes formerly assumed, there must have been on the west side of the lake a second Bethsaida.

So far as I can discover, the only non-biblical evidence for such an assumption has been found in Ptolemy's *Geography*. But the data of Ptolemy cannot be regarded as offering any evidence for a second Bethsaida. At their face value they might be so taken, for Julias is placed some miles northwest of Tiberias. Still farther north is Capercotni (Καπερκότνη). But this city, mentioned immediately before Julias, is not Capernaum, though a glossator has introduced such a reading.

According to Ptolemy, Julias is directly northwest of Tiberias about thirteen degrees, while Sepphoris and Capercotni are respectively west-northwest and northwest of Julias twenty-five or thirty degrees, Capercotni, therefore, high in the mountains of Upper Galilee. Actually Sepphoris is west and slightly south of Tiberias, while Kafr Kûd, which is thought to be Capercotni, is some twenty-three miles south of Sepphoris. If one make allowance for the fact that Ptolemy has apparently at times run his north and south lines northeast and southwest, Julias is brought still farther away from the Sea of Galilee. If he has confounded Bethsaida Julias with the hypothetical Bethsaida on the west coast by et-Tabigha, his position for it is most inaccurate. The innumerable errors which Ptolemy's data exhibit forbid that any weight should be given to his statements in matters where exactness is required. The fact that the text handed down puts Beersheba northwest of Raphia, Ascalon west-southwest of Gaza, and the port of the Gazans between Beit Jibrin and Jerusalem is sufficient to demonstrate the untrustworthiness of his records of latitude and longitude as they have been preserved in the manuscripts. The change of $\xi\xi' \beta''$ into $\xi\xi' \gamma'' \beta''$ would alter the longitude from $67^{\circ} 5'$ to $67^{\circ} 25'$ and throw Julias where it belongs, to the northeast instead of the northwest of Tiberias.¹ The ancient non-Christian writers may, therefore, be said to be unanimous in placing the one Bethsaida they know at the site of Bethsaida Julias.

¹ PTOLEMY, *Geographia*, 5, 15, 3.

LATER CHRISTIAN EVIDENCE

In spite of the fact that all extra-biblical pre-Christian sources unite in placing Bethsaida on the east bank of the Jordan, a persistent Christian tradition has arisen which places a Bethsaida on the west shore of the Sea of Galilee not far from Capernaum. The weight of the Christian tradition can only be realized by a consideration of the statements of the *onomastica* and *itineraria* on the subject of the sites of Bethsaida and the Feeding of the Five Thousand.

A considerable number of authorities omit all mention of Bethsaida. It may have been the difficulties of the Markan narrative which led the authors of the Gospels of Matthew and John to leave Bethsaida out of the story of the feast. It is likewise omitted in that "ancient roadmap of the Roman Empire" preserved in the Tabula Peutingeriana, which also overlooks Capernaum and Chorazin. Bethsaida is missing from the Antonine itinerary and from the stories of the Bordeaux pilgrim, Peter the Deacon, Paula, and St. Silvia. The Madeba mosaic, the Breviary of Jerusalem (ca. 530 A.D.), and the accounts of Procopius of Gaza and Antoninus Martyr, the *Commemeratorium de casis Dei* and *Innominatus VII* are among those which likewise omit it.

THE EARLIEST EVIDENCE

Eusebius merely says that Bethsaida, the city of Andrew, Peter, and Philip, lies in Galilee near (πρὸς) the Lake of Gennesaret. Jerome's translation only changes the order of the words. In his commentary on Isaiah 9.1, he mentions the "Lake of Gennesaret on the shore of which Capernaum, Tiberias, Bethsaida, and Chorazin are situated." Obviously no argument can be based upon the order in which the cities are mentioned. Eucherius, probably the bishop of Lyons from 434-50, mentions Julias as lying at the extremity of a territory which he does not name, but which is evidently that of Philip, for he is merely quoting Josephus.¹ Theodosius locates Magdala two miles from Tiberias, "Septem Fontes, where the Lord Christ baptized the apostles," two miles farther, "where also he satisfied the people with five loaves and two fishes." Two miles farther on is Capernaum, and six miles from Capernaum is Bethsaida. Fifty

¹ GEYER, *Itin. Hieros.*, p. 134, 4 ff., JOSEPHUS, *BJ.*, 3, 57 f,

miles from Bethsaida is Paneas.¹ It will be seen that the measurements from Tiberias to Capernaum fall decidedly short, unless one be willing to put Magdala at Khirbet el-Kaneitriyeh, Septem Fontes at 'Ain el-Mudauwera, and Capernaum at Khân Minyeh. Even so, six Roman miles thence would set Bethsaida beyond the Jordan, and fifty miles beyond would certainly overshoot Paneas, unless one went by a very devious route. In any case the order speaks unequivocally for Bethsaida Julias.

According to both Adamnus and the Venerable Bede, Arculf (ca. 670 A.D.) reported that the Jordan came from Paneas to the city Julias and then flowed through Lake Genesar.² In another connection Julias and Hippos are placed by Bede east of the lake, Tiberias west of it.³ Neither Adamnus nor Bede mentions the name Bethsaida. Since they name only Tiberias, Capernaum, Nazareth, and Thabor in Galilee, the omission has little evidential value, yet it does indicate that a western Bethsaida had not yet become an important place of pilgrimage in Arculf's time.

St. Willibald, on the other hand (722 A.D.), may have been shown Bethsaida at Tell Hûm. According to both accounts of his pilgrimage he went from the village of the Magdalene to Capernaum and thence to Bethsaida, "whence were Peter and Andrew. There is a church where before their house was." After a night there, he was taken to Corazaim (Corozaim) and thence to the sources of the Jordan.⁴ Unless the saint, or his reporters, merely became confused, he would seem to place Bethsaida at Tell Hûm, where a church seems to have been built over the supposed home of the apostles, and Chorazin possibly on the east side of the Jordan, as was later done. Surely St. Willibald proves how little dependence can be placed on pilgrim accounts. Here appears the tendency to move Gospel sites into regions accessible to the pilgrim, for it is at Chorazin that the Gadarene demoniac was cured and the demons driven into the swine. The anonymous writer of St. Willibald's life adds that Capernaum was on the opposite shore of the lake, an unusual location unless it may point to Tell Hûm as viewed

¹ GEYER, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

² GEYER, *op. cit.*, p. 268, 16; 316, 7.

³ *Idem.*, p. 315, 20, probably depending upon PLINY, *Hist. nat.*, 5, 15, 15.

⁴ TOBLER, *DTS (Descriptiones terrae sanctae, 1874)*, pp. 26 f., 63.

from Tiberias or Mejdél. Bethsaida would then be at Julias. Probably the pilgrim merely erred as to the name of the place where he spent the night, and, after a brief visit to Bethsaida Julias, crossed back to Kerâzeh and then took the customary route northward on the west side of the Jordan. In any case, the brevity of both accounts of St. Willibald's travels, which, for example, jump from Paneas to Jericho, decidedly weakens the force of this evidence for a western Bethsaida. The probabilities are that both accounts are slightly confused and should read like that of Theodosius.

THE "OLD COMPENDIUM"

During the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries Bethsaida seems to drop out of sight. None of the Moslem writers mentions it and Christian pilgrims seem not to have reached it. However a strong tradition putting it at the head of the lake survived into the times of the Crusades. Saewulf (ca. 1102-03) gives the information that the city of Tiberias was at one end of the lake, Corozaim and Bethsaida at the other.¹ A series of guidebooks beginning in the twelfth century show dependence upon an "Old Compendium" in their accounts of the sites about the Sea of Galilee.² The so-called Fetellus (ca. 1130 A.D.), John of Würzburg (1160-70 A.D.), Theoderich (ca. 1172 A.D.), "Anonymous VI," or Pseudo-Beda (twelfth century), the Latin manuscript of Trinity College, Dublin, called *Perigrinatio totius terre sancte* (ca. 1350 A.D.), and Odoricus de Foro Julii all³ essentially agree on the order in which they mention the various places beside the sea and in what they say about them. The Sea of Galilee begins between Capernaum and Bethsaida. It is four (Fet., Theod., Anon. VI, Peregr., Odor.) or six (Jn. W.) miles from Bethsaida to Chorazin. Capernaum is at the head of the sea (Fet.), or at the right side of the sea (Jn. W., Theod.) or by conflation at the head of the sea on the right (Anon. VI, Peregr., Odor.) From Capernaum it is two miles to the mountain slope where the Sermon on the Mount was spoken and another mile to the *mensa Christi*, where the five thousand were fed. Nearby on the

¹ PPTS (Palestine Pilgrim Text Society translations), p. 25.

² See BLISS, *The Development of Palestine Exploration*, New York, 1906, p. 88.

³ Found in TOBLER, *DTS*, PPTS, or LAURENT, *Peregrinatores Medii Aevi Quatuor*, Lipsiae, 1864.

lake shore is the scene of Christ's reappearance in John 21. Next is mentioned the city, or plain, or lake of Gennesaret on the left side of the sea in a hollow which generates a peculiar wind (or gold). Two miles farther is Magdalum.

Plainly the author of the "Compendium" or its copyists were sadly confused as to the exact relations of the various places mentioned. If one start from Megdel and work backward through the list, he will cross the Plain of Gennesaret and come to Tell el-'Oreimeh and Sheikh 'Ali es-Seiyâd as the scenes of the Feast of the Five Thousand and the post-Resurrection appearance on the seashore. The distance is four or five Roman miles. Thence it is less than three Roman miles along the shore to Tell Hûm, but the pilgrim trail may have led back into the hills to the *descensus montis* of the Beatitudes. From Kerâzeh to el-'Araj is about four Roman miles. The chief difficulty is found in the statement that places the Plain of Gennesaret at the head of the sea on the left while Capernaum is at the head of the sea on the right. The head of the sea ought then to be near et-Tâbigha. But if "Fetellus"¹ represents the original text, it put Capernaum in *superiore capite maris* and *Genezareth, locus generans aurum* (not *auram*), in *sinistro capite maris*. Thus the difficulties disappear. Capernaum is then at Tell Hûm and Bethsaida on the east side of the river. The later writers who copied the "Old Compend" were probably trying to adapt it to the tradition which placed Capernaum at et-Tâbigha or Khân Minyeh and therefore displaced the head of the sea and the course of the Jordan as Poloner seems to do.²

CRUSADER TRADITION

The Russian Abbot Daniel is the first example of the thoroughly unintelligent topography which afflicted so many pilgrims during the Crusades. When he reached Galilee with Baldwin in January, 1107,³ sacred sites were moved in wholesale fashion so that the pious pilgrim might not miss any thrills. Nearly all of the events connected with Capernaum were transferred to Tiberias. Northward along the shore of the lake were Magdala, Bethsaida, and Capernaum.

¹ ED. DE VOGUEÉ, *Les églises de la terre sainte*, Paris, 1860, p. 422.

² See below.

³ *PPTS*, pp. 56-63; cf. ROEHRICHT, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, Innsbruck, 1898, p. 68, n. 2.

"Not far off runs a large river which issues from the Lake of Genesaret and flows into the Sea of Tiberias."¹ Certainly Saewulf, four or five years earlier, had acquired a much more consistent conception of the Holy Land. Probably Abbot Daniel owed his mistakes to the "holy man of great age, very erudite and devout, who had spent thirty years in Galilee and twenty in the Laura of St. Sabbas", who also gave him "all the explanations contained in Holy Scripture."

A later series of accounts, written in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, show dependance upon this type of monkish tradition, which differs so sharply from that of the earlier pilgrims and the "Old Compend." Burchard of Mount Zion (1280 A.D.), Marino Sanuto (1321 A.D.), Frater Ricoldus (early fourteenth century), and John Poloner (1421-22) essentially agree as to the location of various sites along the Sea of Galilee, and Burchard, Sanuto, and Poloner as to the wording of their descriptions. Sanuto and Burchard place "Bethsaida, the city of Andrew, Peter, and Philip", "at the corner of the Sea of Galilee where it begins to curve from the north toward the south,"² and "by the side of the way from Syria to Egypt;" it is at the spot where "the way from Gilead joins that leading from Syria to Egypt."³ The order in which the various cities are mentioned makes it perfectly clear that Capernaum was east of Bethsaida, the latter evidently being placed either at Khân Minyeh or at some other site in the Plain of Gennesaret, for it is two leagues (Burchard, Poloner) from Magdala. In this period Chorazin is placed east of the Jordan, which explains the statement of Sanuto and Felix Fabri that the Jordan enters the Sea of Galilee between Capernaum and Chorazin.⁴

Burchard and Sanuto make the strange statement that the "little Jordan" mentioned by Josephus⁵ flows between Bethsaida and Capernaum, and that there had been an ancient aqueduct from it

¹ *PPTS*, p. 61, ch. 77.

² This statement taken alone would apply to Bethsaida Julias and may represent older tradition misunderstood.

³ BURCHARD, ch. 5, 5 and 8, ed. LAURENT, pp. 39 f.; MARINO SANUTO, *PPTS*, ch. 3. pp. 14, 17.

⁴ SANUTO, ch. 6, *PPTS*, p. 22, FABRI, *PPTS*, II, p. 25.

⁵ *BJ.*, 4,3 (1,1); *Ant.*, 5, 178 (2,1).

to Bethsaida.¹ This ancient aqueduct surely must be the channel, first mentioned by Robinson as such,² which runs around the head of the hill on which Tell el-Oreimeh stands. Sanuto seems to describe the Wādî Hamâm, but places it north of Dothan, that is for him Bir Jubb Yûseph. Burchard might be thought to regard et-Tâbigha as the mouth of the little Jordan. In any case it would appear that this creation of a "little Jordan" on the west of the lake is an attempt to adjust the Crusader Bethsaida to the older statements that the Jordan flowed into the lake between Capernaum and Bethsaida. Jan Cuthwick (1598 A.D.) puts Capernaum on the west shore of the Jordan, Chorazin on the east with a bridge between, and thinks that Taboga may be Magdalum. His Bethsaida, however, is on the plain of Gennesaret between two streams.³ He, therefore, continues the tradition of Burchard, Sanuto, and Poloner.

The evidence of these documents is perfectly clear that, at the time when they were written, that is in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, Bethsaida was shown to travellers at or near Khân Minyeh. Contrary to Ritter's assumption, it probably was a "site sanctioned by monkish legend" and had been such for four or five centuries when Seetzen (1810-12) heard the name applied to Khân Minyeh.⁴

SCENE OF THE FEAST OF THE FIVE THOUSAND.

The divergence of pilgrim tradition regarding the site of Bethsaida is equaled by its unanimity as to the place where the five thousand were fed. Theodosius (530 A.D.) is wrong as to distances, but he is clear that the feast took place at Septem Fontes.⁵ The *Commemoratorium de casis Dei* (808 A.D.) places a monastery and church at Heptapegon, where the feast occurred.⁶ Bede's account does not specify Septem Fontes but it places the feast in a *campus herbosus* at a *fons tantus* south of and not far from Capernaum.⁷ Adamnus says

¹ SANUTO, ch. 6, *PPTS*, p. 34; BURCHARD, ch. 5, 8, Laurent, p. 40.

² *Biblical Researches in Pal.*, 11 ed. (1874), 2, pp. 345 f.

³ IOHANNES COTOVICUS, *Itinerarium Hierosol. et Syriac.*, Antwerp, 1619, p. 358.

⁴ See RITTER, *Erdkunde*, 15, 1 (*West-Asien*, V, II, § 5), p. 334; ROBINSON, *op. cit.*, p. 359 and n. 2.

⁵ Geyer, p. 138, 1 ff.

⁶ TOBLER, *DTS*, pp. 81 f.

⁷ GEYER, p. 219, ch. 15.

that Arculf saw *columnas paucas lapideas super marginem fonticuli iacentes*.¹ Petrus Diaconus is probably copying an older account when he places the feast in a *campus herbosus* near Septem Fontes. The "Old Compend" descending from the north places Capharnaum at the "upper head of the sea," two miles from it the mountain slope, *descensus montis*, of the Sermon of the Mount and a mile farther on the Feast of the Five Thousand near the place of the post-Resurrection appearance of John 21. Gergesa is mentioned next, quite irrelevantly, and then Gennesaret, which is two miles from Magdalum.²

Several accounts merely mention the place where Jesus fed the multitudes without precise indication of the situation,³ much as Bede had done. Frater Ricoldus seems to have been led by a tortuous path to the various sites by the sea. Apparently he found the place of the feast between Bethsaida (at Khân Minyeh) and Jubb Yûseph.⁴ Poloner places the Feasts of the Four Thousand and of the Five Thousand near Capernaum, all three in the same square.⁵ Marino Sanuto has the mountain called the "table" in square 20, Capernaum in 21, Bethsaida in 22, Magdala in 24, and Tiberias in 28. From his map it is clear that the place of the Sermon on the Mount and the Feast of the Five Thousand is a mountain some distance from the sea, yet at the foot of this mountain, so he says, near the Sea of Galilee, is a fountain which is called a vein of the Nile because it produces the *corconus* fish.⁶ Sanuto is confusing the hill on which Tell el-Oreimeh stands with Kurn Hattîn.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 272, ch. 23. Karge found a mosaic floor near Birket 'Ali eḏ-Dâher which showed the remains of a basket containing four loaves with a fish on either side, DALMAN, *Orte und Wege Jesu*, 3 ed., p. 146. Wilson, *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 359, is doubtless wrong in saying that Arculf was shown 'Ain el-Fülyeh as the site of the feast.

² FETELLUS, *PPTS*, pp. 28 f., DE VOGUÉ, pp. 422 f., JOHN OF WUERZBURG in TOBLER, *DTS*, p. 187 f.; INNOMINATUS VI, *PPTS*, pp. 53 f.; *Peregrinatio totius terre sancte*, *PPTS*, p. 36; ODORICUS, ch. 12, LAURENT, p. 148.

³ JOHANNES PHOCAS, (1185 A.D.), *PPTS*, p. 15, MIGNE, *Patrol. Graeca*, 133, col. 937 CD; ANONYMOUS II, *PPTS*, p. 5 (12 cent.);

⁴ Ch. 11, 17 ff., Laurent, p. 106.

⁵ TOBLER, *DTS*, p. 258.

⁶ SANUTO, 3, 14, 3, *PPTS*, pp. 13 f.; cf. JOSEPHUS, *BJ.*, 3, 520 (10,8), where the spring called Kapharnaum produces a fish like the coracin.

THE PILGRIM EVIDENCE

To summarize the pilgrim evidence, Theodosius put Bethsaida at Julias. Eucherius and the two accounts of Arculf's journey know only Julias. The "Old Compend" had Bethsaida at the upper end of the lake opposite Capernaum. Willibald is uncertain. The Abbot Daniel in the twelfth century plainly has Bethsaida on the west shore south of Capernaum. He is the forerunner of a number of guide books which unequivocally set Bethsaida on the west side of the lake between Mejdél and et-Tâbigha, though occasionally betraying the persistence of the older tradition which put it east of the Jordan. The explanation of this transference is twofold. Practically from the time of its first mention the *mensa Christi* was shown to pilgrims at Septem Fontes, Heptapegon, that is et-Tâbigha. Readers of Luke could harmonize his statement as to the place of the feast with Mark's geographical notices only by supposing that the site of Bethsaida and the scene of the miracle were close together. Perhaps an equally important reason for the western site was the convenience of pilgrims. It was much easier to bring the places of pilgrimage close together and especially to avoid crossing the sea to Bethsaida Julias. As the *Peregrinatio* of Wildebrand of Oldenburg shows, it was eventually possible to visit Galilee and Capernaum without ever leaving the Mediterranean coast, both being shown to pilgrims between Carmel and Caesarea Stratonis.¹ A large proportion of the miracles and other Gospel incidents were moved to Tiberias for the Russian Abbot Daniel.

Surely the evidence of the pilgrims as such can have little weight in determining the site of Bethsaida, certainly it cannot establish the existence of the hypothetical second city, for earlier evidence that is unambiguous knows no western Bethsaida, and positive evidence from pilgrim tales appears only after the Crusades. The real point at issue is the interpretation of the Gospel narratives which are responsible for the hypothesis of a second Bethsaida.

THE PROBLEM OF INTERPRETATION

It being agreed that, according to the preponderance of the extra-biblical evidence, Bethsaida lay at the northeast of the Sea of

¹ Book I, chs. 1 f., Laurent, p. 183.

Galilee, the problem for the student of the Gospels is whether the allusions in the Gospels are accounted for by this location. The interpretation of these allusions has in the past been governed largely by harmonistic methods of exegesis which entirely or largely ignored the critical study of the Gospels as historical sources. Any approach to the problem which can hope to arrive at satisfactory historical results must proceed upon methods such as modern historians are accustomed to follow. In other words the sources must be critically evaluated and their statements used according to the results of this evaluation.

It must be admitted that there is great difference of opinion as to the solution of the Synoptic problem and as to the historical trustworthiness of the Fourth Gospel. But these differences are not such as to prevent an historical approach to the present problem. Few will now arise to deny that Mark was one of the chief sources of Matthew and Luke and that the First and Third Gospels were dependent upon Mark for a very considerable proportion of their information regarding the ministry of Jesus. In the passages which come under consideration in this paper neither of these evangelists exhibits information in addition to Mark. They are here making use of the Markan, or Petrine, tradition as it had come down to them and weaving it into their story in the way that seemed to them most intelligible and powerful. Further refinements of the solution of the Synoptic problem need not concern a paper which is occupied with the elucidation of the geographical ideas of the Gospel writers, not with the identification of their sources. Again few will deny that the Fourth Gospel goes its own way almost entirely oblivious or at least indifferent to what the others say. Most important of all is the principle, obvious, but by no means universally recognized, that each of the evangelists wrote with the idea of presenting a "Gospel," a proclamation of glad tidings, and without any thought that later generations would compare what he had written with his predecessors and contemporaries or attempt to construct itineraries and a "geography of the Gospels" out of his few allusions to places and journeys. It is necessary, therefore, with these principles and reservations in mind, to proceed to examine the statements of each Gospel separately, to interpret them in the light of the linguistic usage and general character of each, and to compare them in the

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light of a critical evaluation.

THE GOSPEL DATA AS TO BETHSAIDA

The city Bethsaida, be it noted, is mentioned twice in Mark, twice in Luke, once in Matthew, and twice in John. Its one appearance in Matthew (11.21), one of the two in Luke (10.13), and one of the two in John (1.44) are topographically colorless.¹ There remain, then, only four direct references to the city which are of value to the student of geography: Mark 6.45; 8.22; Luke 9.10, and John 12.21. They must be carefully studied in their contexts, and their contexts, properly considered, include no small area, for mention of Bethsaida is closely connected with the incident of the "Feast of the Five Thousand."

BETHSAIDA OF GALILEE

John's allusion to "Bethsaida of Galilee" can not be taken as bearing on the problem. If other arguments should be discovered for a second Bethsaida lying in Galilee proper, this passage (Jn 12.21) would enter as confirmatory evidence, but of itself it can prove nothing. The phrase used, "Bethsaida of Galilee" (Βηθσαιδὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας), has a familiar parallel in "Pisidian Antioch" (Ἀντιόχεια ἡ Πισιδία, Ac 13.14), which Strabo calls "Antioch near Pisidia" (Ἀντ. ἡ πρὸς τῇ Πισιδίᾳ, or πρὸς τὴν Πισιδίαν, 12.3.31, 6.4, 6.14). As Antioch was in Phrygia but was called Pisidian Antioch, so Bethsaida, which was in Gaulanitis, may have been called Galilean because of its proximity to Galilee and its sea.² Moreover it appears that political lines were not sharply drawn in common usage. Josephus calls Judas of Gamala a Galilean,³ and Ptolemy definitely

¹ To be sure, some have tried to find an argument in the order in which Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum are mentioned in Mt 11.21 ff. = Lk 10.13 ff. But that is obviously a last, desperate resort.

² The writer of the Fourth Gospel needed to distinguish it from his pool of Bethsaida in Jerusalem, if Bethsaida is the proper reading in Jn 5.2.

³ *Ant.*, 18.4 (1,1), 23 (1,6) Sir GEORGE ADAM SMITH's confident statement (*Hist. Geogr. of the Holy Land*, pp. 416 and n. 1, 458 and n. 6) that the eastern shore belonged to Galilee is negatived rather than substantiated by Josephus, *BJ.*, 2.568 (20,4), where Gamala is definitely reckoned as not belonging to the two Galilees. He seems to submit no evidence for his claim that before 84 A.D. Bethsaida had been definitely transferred to Galilee; cf. also *Enc. Bibl.*, I, col. 568. BUNL's argument that Hippene was on the eastern border of Galilee (*Geogr. d. all.*

reckons Julias as a city of Galilee.¹ It is, then, not remarkable that the author of the Fourth Gospel, writing between Josephus and Ptolemy, should have done the same. He reflects the common usage of the time when he was composing the book, not the political facts of a century earlier. The passage, then, can be dismissed as having no evidential value.

THE DATA OF MARK

The Gospel of Mark is basic, both as the earliest of the Synoptic Gospels and as the unintentional cause of much confusion. It says (6.45) that, after the meal with the five thousand in a lonely, or deserted place (ἐρημὸς τόπος), Jesus asked the disciples "to go before him to the other side toward Bethsaida" (εἰς τὸ πέραν πρὸς Βηθσαιδάν). Likewise in Mark 8.22, after embarking "for the other side" (εἰς τὸ πέραν), in this case without any storm to interfere, they come to Bethsaida. The city then lies "on the other side," but it remains to determine what kind of a body of water must lie between the two sides here implied, and from what point the journey starts in both cases.

The Greek word *πέραν*, "across, on the other side," often means the opposite side of a body of water. It has been so used from Homer and Hesiod down to Modern Greek. But it does not necessarily imply the mathematically opposite bank of such a body of water as the Sea of Galilee. The curve of the shore is such that the semasiology of the word is satisfied by any crossing of the water. A passage from any spot on the shores that are west of the Jordan to those on the east, or vice versa, would fulfil the implications of the word. It is equally true that the crossing of a section or bay of the lake, as from Tiberias to Tell Hûm, might be all that is implied. The writer of the Fourth Gospel uses the expression *πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης* of just this journey (6.17, 22, 25). Josephus uses *διαπεραιώω* of sailing from Tiberias to Tarichaeae just as he does of crossing to Hippos (*Vita* 153, 304=31,59). The various possibilities of the phrase must be born in mind when one attempts to locate the places it connects.

Pal., p. 242, n. 813), does not prove that Julias was in Galilee, even apart from the uncertainty of the text at this point.

¹ *Geographia*, 5, 15, 3.

Since all the early evidence implies but one Bethsaida, the attempt must first be made to explain the Gospel data on that basis. - On this assumption the two unknown quantities in the present problem, Dalmanutha and the scene of the great feast, will naturally be sought on the west side. Yet so far as the meaning of the word *πέριον* is concerned, it is possible to place the scene of the great feast on the eastern shore of the lake, as Dalman does.

DALMAN argues¹ that the Feeding of the Five Thousand must have taken place in the lonely region between Wādî en-Neqêb on the narrow shore by the mountain now called Môqa^c 'Edlo. The neighborhood of the Plain of Gennesaret, that of Tell Hûm, and that of the plain now called el-Ebtêha, where Julias lay, all are excluded because there is no mountain nearby to which Jesus could retire (Mk 6.45), the region between Tiberias and Mejdél by the fact that there was an ancient city, possibly Magdala, at 'Ain el-Fûliyah, while a short distance away lay Arbela (Khîrbet 'Irbid), and still beyond was Beth Maon (Tell Ma'ûn). South of Tiberias is unlikely because there is no mention of Jesus in connection with this region.² The statement of John 6.1, according to DALMAN, implies a place opposite Tiberias and confirms the conclusions reached by examination of the topography.

This argument rests chiefly upon two data in the Gospels. Jesus is said to have sailed away to a lonely place (*εἰς ἔρημον τόπον*) and to have gone up into a mountain after the meal (Mk 6. 32, 35 = Mt 14.13, 15; Mk 6.46 = Mt 14.23 = Jn 6.15). That a lonely place could be found in the immediate neighborhood of Capernaum is sufficiently proved by the statement in Mark (1.35 = Lk 4.42) that Jesus went out from the house of Simon to such a place. The term mountain is so loosely used that no conclusive argument can be derived from it. The Gospels more than once refer to Jesus' going up into the mountain, or into the mountains (Mt 5.1; Mk 3.13 = Lk 6.12; Mt 15.29). Even if every known ruin west of the lake had been occupied in the time of Jesus, it would not have been difficult to discover lonely places on the shores or the hills back of them where one could hope for peace and solitude. Mark's account, which naturally must be the basis of argument, implies they

¹ *Orte und Wege Jesu*, ed. 3. pp. 178-89, esp. pp. 184 ff.

² In other words, a thing must happen twice before it can happen once.

were not far from many sources of food. On this point; therefore, Dalman's arguments seem inclusive. The data of the Fourth Gospel are to be considered later. So far as the topography of the seashore is concerned, the feast may have taken place at any one of several spots on the western side of the lake.

The journeys connected with the second miraculous Feast, that of the Four Thousand (Mk 7.31-8.27=Mt 15.29-16.13), serve to illuminate the interpretation of the earlier material. Dalmanutha and Magadan (Mk 8.10-Mt 15.39) are unidentified, unless one may suppose Magadan to be Magdala.¹ The dispute with the Pharisees which follows upon Jesus' arrival at this place implies that it was on the western shore of the lake. Mark's account suggests that the Feast of the Four Thousand took place in the Decapolis, that Jesus and the disciples then sailed across the lake to the west side, and that after the feast they crossed over to Bethsaida Julias. Matthew leaves out both the Decapolis and Bethsaida. From his account one could only infer that the second feast took place, like the first, on a mountain not far from the west shore of the sea (15.29), that Jesus then sailed away to a place at some little distance before again taking boat to sail across the sea in the direction of Caesarea Philippi (15.39, 16.5, 13). But it is not probable that either Mark or Matthew can be regarded as presenting a chronologically and geographically ordered account. Mark seems to have assumed such a series of journeys and to have taken Bethsaida Julias as the starting point for the journey to Caesarea Philippi. However, even aside from the objections which the exponents of the *formgeschichtliche Methode* make to the assumption that such an interpretation of Mark represents actual historical fact, it is now generally recognized that a journey through Decapolis with the various incidents narrated in its course is quite improbable and that the Feast of the Four Thousand is but a variant of the earlier feast.² If it be but a duplicate, Mark's account indicates that there was another written source in his hands which, like the first, made Jesus cross the sea after the miracle in the direction of Bethsaida. In other words, the feast takes place on

¹ With a large number of manuscripts, versions, and fathers.

² EDUARD MEYER, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, 1921, I, pp. 130 ff., WENDLAND, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur*, 1912, p. 264, MONTEFIORE, *The Synoptic Gospels*, 2 ed., 1927, pp. 173 f., KLOSTERMANN, *Markusevangelium*, 3 ed., 1926, pp. 84 f., and literature cited by them.

the western shore, and Bethsaida lies on the eastern side of the lake. Matthew's account plainly implies the same, though Bethsaida is not mentioned. However, Matthew's omissions of definite geographical allusions, due to his lack of interest in concrete details, and as well the fact that he is secondary, depending on Mark for his material, make it impossible to base any argument upon his statements.

The Gospel accounts, then, on the whole seem to imply but one Bethsaida, and that on the east shore of the lake. There is, however, in Mark a serious difficulty which has supplied one of the chief reasons for the hypothesis of a second, western Bethsaida. Jesus commands the disciples to go to Bethsaida, and they eventually arrive at the Plain of Gennesaret. If Bethsaida was on the east coast, they did not arrive at the place to which he had sent them. This inconsistency between intention and outcome was possibly felt by Matthew, who drops Bethsaida out when telling how the disciples sailed away from the scene of the feast (14.22=Mk 6.45). Thus he escaped the inference that Jesus could start for a place and allow a storm of which he was master to deflect him from his course. Tatian used Matthew's verse and he also escaped the difficulty. Gospel copyists apparently sensed the inconsistency. The Old Latin Manuscripts, *a* (Vercell., iv cent.), *i* (Vind., v or vi cent.), and *q* (Monac., vi cent.), change *ad Bethsaidam* into *a Bethsaida*. The Greek cursives, 1, 118, and 209, omit *εἰς τὸ πέραν* from Mark 6.45. Were these modifications due merely to accident, or do they indicate some reflection upon the geographical problems of the section and possibly acquaintance with pilgrim tales as to the location of *mensa Christi*? If Matthew did omit the name of Bethsaida because of this inconsistency between purpose and achievement, he must be taken as one of the strongest witnesses against a western Bethsaida. If there had been a western Bethsaida, there would have been no necessity for the change from *ad* to *a* in the Latin manuscripts. The three Greek cursives, which come from the tenth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, may well reflect the later pilgrim tradition which placed a Bethsaida on the west shore. But the earlier modifications, so far as they were not accidental, indicate that no western Bethsaida was known and that some other method had to be found to eliminate the difficulty. Later students of the

Gospels, not caring or daring to tamper with the text, assumed a second Bethsaida, and it is this assumption which is at once the result and the cause of the topographical confusion in this instance.

Taking all of the account of Mark as it stands, there is no reason for supposing that Jesus may not have sent the disciples toward Bethsaida but that the storm blew them back and caused them to land at the Plain of Gennesaret. However, if one wish to follow the critical students of the Gospels, and take Mark 8.1-26 as a briefer variant of Mark 6.34-7.37, the explanation is merely that *πρὸς Βηθσαιδάν* is a mistaken anticipation of the journey across the sea mentioned in Mark 8.13, 22.

THE PECULIARITIES OF LUKE

Luke, however, added a new source of confusion. His allusion to Bethsaida is definite, even if not consistent. Jesus, followed by the crowds, goes to Bethsaida (9.10), and there, after a day spent in teaching, he feeds the multitudes. 'They are, however, in a "deserted" or "lonely" place (*ἐν ἐρήμῳ τόπῳ*), though at Bethsaida. Shortly after the meal, when Jesus has been praying alone, the confession of Peter takes place, and eight days later, the Transfiguration, all of this without change of scene. That is to say, Luke's account, taken as it stands, makes Bethsaida a desert place and has both Peter's confession and the Transfiguration occur there. Luke knows nothing of Caesarea Philippi. If the early Christian who knew the geography of Galilee read Luke alone, he would suppose that Jesus was somewhere on the west side of the sea when the Twelve returned to him after their first mission, that they crossed over by boat or walked around the head of the sea to Bethsaida and in its neighborhood ate a miraculous meal, and that, while they still remained in its neighborhood, on some nearby mountain the Transfiguration took place.

How does Luke come to represent the course of events in a fashion so totally different from that of the other Synoptists? It has long been recognized that at this point one of Luke's major omissions occurs. He has no parallel to Mark 6.45-8.26. The walking on the water, the return to Gennesaret, the discourse on ceremonial and moral cleanness, the first northern journey and the story of the Syro-Phoenician women, the healing of a deaf and

dumb man, the feeding of the four thousand, the demand of the Pharisees for signs, the saying with regard to the leaven of the Pharisees, and the cure of a blind man near Bethsaida, all of this, up to and including the verse in Mark which mentions Caesarea Philippi, is wanting in Luke.

Explanations of this "great omission" have been numerous. A popular hypothesis has been that Luke wished to avoid duplicates and therefore left out all of this material in order to escape retelling the stories of the miraculous meal and of the healing of the blind man. But aside from the fact that this omission is itself one of the chief reasons for supposing that Luke disliked duplicates, it seems strange that he would omit so much material in order to avoid the use of two small sections of it. Other reasons may be adduced to explain the omission of the other sections,¹ but such piecemeal reasoning is not convincing. There is much material in the section which Luke would naturally choose. Writing for Gentile readers he might be expected to tell of Jesus' two journeys into non-Jewish territory, into Phoenicia and to Caesarea Philippi, both of which he does not even suggest. Jesus' criticism of the well known food tabus of the Jews would exactly suit a Gentile audience. The story of the Syro-Phoenician woman would also be apropos.

On the whole, the most satisfactory hypothesis is, not that there were two editions of Mark, one with and one without this long section, or that a later editor added this section to Mark, but, as Streeter argues, that Luke used a copy of Mark in which this passage was accidentally wanting. If Luke's text of Mark ended somewhat after Mark 6.45, which mentions Bethsaida, and began again with the words just after the mention of Caesarea Philippi in Mark 8.27, Luke could easily make such a connection as is found in his Gospel, and produce the narrative as it now appears.²

If Luke did omit this section intentionally, the only possible conclusion is that he was either indifferent to geographical details, or, much more probably, ignorant of them. There are several passages in the Gospel which reveal his uncertainty regarding Pales-

¹ Cf. HAWKINS, in *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, pp. 67 ff., Klostermann, *ad loc.*, Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels*, 2 ed., 1927, II, pp. 448 f.

² *The Four Gospels*, pp. 175 ff., has a more complicated explanation, which may be preferable. MONTEFIORE, *loc. cit.*, speaks of this as a "fascinating and delightful hypothesis."

tinian geography. The verse which has Jesus preaching in the synagogues of Judea as the conclusion of a record of activities in Galilee is much better explained as an inexactitude on the part of Luke than as a derelict from some tradition of a Judean ministry (4.44). Even if it is the latter, it is most inept at this point and rather emphasizes Luke's want of geographical orientation in Palestine. Nothing could be more unintelligible than the verse which makes Jesus on his way to Jerusalem go "through the midst of Samaria and Galilee" (διὰ μέσων Σαμαρείας καὶ Γαλιλαίας, 17.11). Such instances might be multiplied. However, this is not the place to go farther into the question.

There are other reasons for rejecting the common assumption that the desert feast took place near Bethsaida. Whatever the reason, whether because his Markan manuscript or his geographical knowledge was deficient, Luke betrays his patchwork by his implication that the lonely place where the meal took place was Bethsaida. To the modern traveller who views el-Ebteiha from the west bank of the Jordan or from the sea, it appears most lonely. The modern visitor could easily put such a desert meal there, for there is no city or village within many miles. It is really far from being a desert or deserted. When one lands near el-ʿAraj and goes towards et-Tell, he not only finds el-ʿAraj itself inhabited but discovers that there are what one might call settled Bedouin inhabitants on the plain and that there is much successful cultivation, much more than on the hills back of Tell Hûm and around Kerâzeh. In the time of Jesus, when Bethsaida was one of the chief cities in Gaulanitis, surely the region was far from lonely.

Moreover, the very fact that Luke has substituted the words "to a city called Bethsaida" (9.10) for Mark's "to a lonely place," and a little later has omitted the words "the place is lonely" (Mk 6.35), but then after a few words more finds he must insert "because here we are in a lonely place" (9.12) in order to explain the need for food, shows that he is hastily patching up a narrative without having fully considered the circumstances under which the incident occurred. Luke's account flatly contradicts Mark's statement which makes the disciples after the meal leave for Bethsaida across the lake and it contradicts as flatly all the geographical data.

If, contrary to natural inference, one attempt to set Luke's Bethsaida on the western shore, hoping so to harmonize Luke and Mark, nothing is gained. All the objections to Bethsaida Julius apply with equal force to this interpretation of Luke. Moreover, such an interpretation falls foul of Mark's statement that the disciples were sent away to Bethsaida: they were to sail from Bethsaida to Bethsaida, and no one who wrote any one of the accounts knew that there were two Bethsaidas. Thus confusion is worse confounded.

The Gospel copyists were quick to see the difficulties of Luke's narrative and tried various expedients for mending it. The most noteworthy is the omission of Bethsaida by Sinaiticus, the 13 family, the Curetonian Syriac, and some others, thus following Matthew's example. There can be no doubt that the Received text, "into a desert place of the city called Bethsaida," and the Vulgate, *in locum desertum qui est Bethsaida*, are wrong. The latter is a rather unintelligent conflation, the former an attempt to smoothe over Luke's mistake. The more ingenious effort of the Sinaitic Syriac, "to the gate of a city called Bethsaida," is likewise not the original. The text adopted by the various critical editors, such as Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, and von Soden, allows the more difficult reading to stand; *εἰς πύλιν καλουμένην Βηθσαιῖδα*.

So far as the text is recoverable, then, Luke's topography is entirely wrong and must be ignored. He had no additional information, but because of a defective source or defective geographical knowledge, or perhaps because of both, he has contributed greatly to the topographical confusion which envelopes these incidents.¹

THE EUCHARISTIC MEAL IN JOHN

Has the Fourth Gospel anything to contribute toward a solution of the problems under discussion? John, it is to be noted, does not mention Bethsaida in connection with the Feast of the Five Thousand. However, since he makes statements which indicate where he supposed the incident to occur, even though his geography is defective, his testimony, which some value most highly, must be given a hearing. In chapter 5 Jesus is in Jerusalem, and, "after these things," he

¹ SIR GEORGE ADAM SMITH's discussion of Bethsaida Julius as the scene of the desert feast is a beautiful example of harmonistic conflation of conflicting sources, *Hist. Geogr. of the Holy Land*, pp. 457 f.

went away across the Sea of Galilee, that is of Tiberias (Jn 6.1). This beginning of the story of the Feast of the Five Thousand, which makes Jesus start from Jerusalem across the Sea of Tiberias, is not auspicious for the topographer. But on the supposition that accidents or careless copyists have disarranged the material, this discrepancy may be overlooked. Chapter 6 within itself is a unity and presents a picture of Jesus' movements which is clear so far as it goes. Jesus and his disciples cross the sea, from what point is not indicated, but probably from Capernaum. They go up upon a grassy mountain and spend the day there. At evening they start out by boat for Capernaum again and after the storm reach their desired haven (6.17, 21, 24 f.).

One verse (6.23) may properly be taken as locating the scene of the eucharistic meal near Tiberias. Literally translated it runs: "Boats came from Tiberias near the place where they ate the bread after the Lord had blessed it." Translators commonly take the phrase "near the place" as indicating motion toward the place. Goodspeed renders, "Some boats from Tiberias landed near the place."¹ An equally accurate and even more natural translation takes the phrase ἐγγὺς τοῦ τόπου as modifying Tiberias, not as indicating the direction or goal of the journey. So far as I can discover, ἐγγὺς is used in the New Testament ten times as a preposition with the Genitive, twice in Hebrews in a metaphysical sense, and twice in Acts and six times in John locally. Just above the passage in question ἐγγὺς as a preposition is used in the sense of direction towards, "coming near the boat" (ἐγγὺς τοῦ πλοίου γινόμενον, 6.19). But every other occurrence in both Acts and John is of the place in which, no motion being implied; for example, "Aenon near Salim" (3.23), "Bethany near Jerusalem" (11.18), "the country near the desert" (11.54). To be sure, two ancient versions agree with the modern translators, or vice versa. The Arabic of Tatian has على حد المكان. The Curetonian Syriac reads "from Tiberias to where they ate the bread" (لأثەر), but the Sinaitic palimpsest, "Tiberias where," omitting the preposition. The Greek Sinaiticus reads, ἐγγὺς οὐσης ὅπου καὶ ἔφαγον ἄρτον. The Washington manuscript (W) has, ἐκ Τιβερίადος ὅπου ἔφαγον, the Old Latin *r* (Dublin), *Tiberiade quae in proximo*

¹ Similarly MOFFATT.

*erant (+ loco illic, b) ubi manducaverant.*¹ Vaticanus and the mass of the Greek manuscripts, the Vulgate, Armenian, Sahidic, Bohairic, and Aethiopic all agree in the ambiguous reading which leaves the meaning undetermined. Without any doubt this was the original manuscript reading. The attempts of various manuscripts in Greek, Syriac, and Latin to make the meaning clear in one way or the other clearly demonstrates the uncertainty of the language. The fact that four most important manuscripts, the Sinaitic Syriac, Sinaiticus, Washington, and the Dublin Old Latin, make Tiberias the place at or near which the feast took place is sufficient to show that this is a possible resolution of the ambiguity. Only two ancient versions take the other view.

In view of the common usage of John and the Acts, is it not equally grammatical and more natural and graphic to translate, "Boats came from Tiberias, *which was* near the place where they ate the bread." From the high shores near Tiberias a crowd of people is looking across the sea toward Capernaum. As they go down toward the water, where the road also is to be found, boatmen put out from Tiberias to meet them and carry them to Capernaum in search of the wonder-worker who has fed them. The author of the Fourth Gospel believed the meal to have taken place on the heights back of Tiberias, a little either to the north or to the south. By crossing the sea he means sailing over the bay by the Plain of Gennesaret. If Capernaum is Tell Hûm, this involves covering a greater distance than from Tell Hûm to Bethsaida Julias.² To be sure, the writer of the Fourth Gospel is quite wrong in his estimate of the distance from the place of the messianic banquet to Capernaum. He says the disciples had gone twenty-five or thirty stadia when Jesus met them and quieted the storm, and thereafter they were immediately at the land whither they were going (6.19 ff.). Even from Khân Minyeh to Tiberias was nearly six miles in a straight line, while the longest stadium can make thirty stadia total only 3.7 miles. If Capernaum had been at Khân Minyeh, which

¹ P. A. CIASCA, *Tatiani evangeliorum harmoniae Arabice*, 1888, p. 74 (Arabic); F. C. BURKITT, *Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe*, 1904, I, pp. 454 f.; H. C. HOSKIER, *Codex B and its Allies*, Part II, p. 235.

² From Tell Hûm it is $2\frac{3}{4}$ m. to el-'Araj, $3\frac{1}{4}$ to el-Mes'adiyeh in a straight line; it is $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles to ancient Tiberias.

is extremely doubtful, and the feast occurred on the mountain just south of Mejdal, the distance would be just about thirty stadia, but this mountain is not near Tiberias as compared with the total distance, for it is over three miles from the ancient city.¹ This is one of the many reasons for thinking that the author of the Fourth Gospel himself knew little of Palestinian geography and in this matter had no first-hand information to add to that of Mark.¹ However, though it may not be possible to determine the exact spot where he thought the feast to have taken place, his language cannot be used, as Dalman uses it, to prove that the incident occurred on the eastern shore of the lake.² Moreover he does not bring the feast into connection with the eastern Bethsaida nor does he afford any grounds for supposing it to have taken place at the traditional spot near et-Tâbigha. Without doing serious wrong to the import of its language, the Fourth Gospel cannot be forced into harmony with either Mark or Luke. Honest exegesis must recognize the fact that, whether he was right or not, the writer of the Fourth Gospel puts the feast into a different geographical framework from that of the Synoptists. Was he right? That is a question which no one can answer. The opinion anyone holds on this question will depend upon his conception of the Fourth Gospel as a whole. On the whole it seems probable that the writer of the Fourth Gospel as it now stands was not an eyewitness of the events he narrates, but, like the Synoptists, was working up older tradition into a "gospel," a message of good news. Whether he was personally acquainted with Palestine is uncertain. Even if he was, he cannot be supposed to have had better information with regard to the geography of these incidents that Mark had. The result of the examination of his evidence, then, is largely negative. By no manner of argument can it be pressed into service either for or against the hypothesis of a western Bethsaida. But it does plainly favor a western site for the Feast of the Five Loaves.

One is, therefore, forced back upon Mark. His account is self-consistent, if not very definite. The disciples return from their

¹ Possibly he thought of a miracle as transporting Jesus and the disciples from the spot on the lake where the storm was stilled to the shore. One must not, therefore, take his statement as to the distance too seriously.

² See above, p. 47.

missionary tour to Jesus, who is in some unmentioned place. The probable assumption is that their rendezvous was Capernaum. They start out by boat for some lonely spot, which is so situated that people on the land who see them going can follow and outstrip them. From this spot at the end of the day the disciples start for Bethsaida Julias, which is still farther away from the Galilean crowds, but, owing to the storm, they finally reach Gennesaret. On this showing, the best place for the miraculous meal is the coast a little to the northeast of Tell Hûm or, less probably, the traditional site near Tell el-Oreimeh. A site near Tiberias is not excluded. The variant tradition of the Feast of the Four Thousand inferentially but without doubt mistakenly places the incident in the Decapolis. It likewise recounts a journey across the sea immediately following the meal, a landing, probably on the western shore, and then a journey across the sea, in this case without doubt to Bethsaida Julias, for the ultimate goal is Caesarea Philippi. In spite of differences, therefore, the variant narrative confirms the interpretation adopted for the Feast of the Five Thousand.

What this paper has attempted to prove is as follows:

1. Ancient non-Christian writers know only Bethsaida Julias.
2. Early pilgrim tradition knows but one Bethsaida, that is Julias.
3. No evidence for a western Bethsaida appears until the time of the Crusades, when sites were moved in wholesale fashion to suit the convenience of pilgrims.
4. From the beginning and consistently throughout all ages until modern times the scene of the Feast was found on the western shore.
5. In the passages under consideration Mark is the only dependable source.
 - a. Matthew omits the significant phrase.
 - b. Luke's datum is based upon a defective copy of Mark or is due to ignorance of or indifference to geography. He directly contradicts Mark.
 - c. The Fourth Gospel, granted that its author is correct, does not imply that the Feast took place on the eastern shore and therefore allows no certain inference as to the site of Bethsaida, certainly none favoring a western site.

6. Mark's account implies that the feast took place on the western shore and nowhere indicates a second Bethsaida. The fact that the boat started for Bethsaida does not imply that it reached that place and therefore does not necessitate a Bethsaida near the Plain of Gennesaret.

7. A recognition of the character of the Gospels and of their relations one to another makes possible solutions of such problems as that under discussion without injustice to the text and is therefore much more satisfactory than harmonistic interpretations of the data, which inevitably do violence to the manifest intentions of at least some of the writers.

ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF GAZA. IV.¹

L.A. MAYER

(JERUSALEM)

MOSQUE OF IBN ʿOTHMĀN.

8.

RESTORATION TEXT. 834 A.H. Inscription above the main prayer niche. Marble slab,² dimensions, measured on squeeze, 202 × 23 cm. Two lines of provincial Mamluk naskhi in moderately high relief. Points almost throughout, a few vowel signs and a few ornaments in the intervening spaces. Pl. IV. figs. 1-3.³

(1) بِسْمِ اللَّهِ وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَسَلَّمَ إِنَّمَا يَعْمُرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللَّهِ
مَنْ آمَنَ بِاللَّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الْآخِرِ وَأَقَامَ الصَّلَاةَ وَآتَى الزَّكَاةَ
وَلَمْ يَخْشَ إِلَّا اللَّهَ فَعَسَىٰ أُولَٰئِكَ أَنْ يَكُونُوا مِنَ الْمُتَّقِينَ
وَالْمَحْرَابَ أَشْرَفَ مَكَانٍ مِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ عَمَرَ هَذَا الْمَحْرَابَ وَالْقُبَّةَ أَعْلَاهُ

¹ Continued from Vol. III. 69 ff., Vol. V. 64 ff. and Vol. IX. 219 ff.

² No photograph of the inscription can be given, as the marble slab, long since covered with a thick coat of green paint—despite it having been cleaned by the Supreme Moslem Council—still shows too many traces of paint to lend itself to photography.

³ Photograph of squeeze published with kind permission of the Director of Antiquities, Jerusalem.

(2) وكذلك الفسقية والقبة أعلاها بصحن الجامع ابتغاء لوجه الله تعالى
 العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الصدر الأجلّ الكبير الحاجّ علم الدين
 سنجر المعامل بغزة أعزّه الله بعزّه وجعله في كنفه وحرزه
 وذلك في مدة آخرها العشر الآخر من شهر رجب في سنة
 أربعة وثلاثين وثمان مائة.

...Qur-ān IX. 18...The prayer-niche is the most noble place of the mosque. Built this prayer-niche and the dome above it, as well as the fountain and the dome above that in the courtyard of the Mosque, in the desire to please God the Exalted, the servant yearning for God the Exalted, the most magnificent and great chief, the pilgrim to Mecca ‘Alam ad-dīn Sanjar, district officer of Gaza, may God in his glory give him strength and protect him and watch over him. This (was done) during the period ending in the last ten days of the month of Rajab in the year 834 (4th-13th April, 1431).

In the chronicles at my disposal no mention is made of a Ḥajj Sanjar living in the first half of the ninth century of the Hijra. That he is not identical with his famous namesake who governed Gaza a century earlier is proved not merely by the date, the reading of which does not admit of any doubt, but also by two titles *ṣadr* and *mu‘amil*. That “*mu‘amil*” cannot in this connexion mean “governor” is proved by three facts. In the first place, in 834, the Governor of Gaza was Aynāl al-‘Alā’ī (later al-Malik al-Ashraf), who occupied this post from the 18th Shawwāl 831 (31st July 1428), till he was transferred to ar-Ruhā in 836 (1432/3).¹ In the second place, from the end of the 8th century of the Hijra onward

¹ For his biography and particularly his term of office in Gaza cf. Maqrīzī *Histoire de l’Égypte*, MS. Paris, fonds arabe, No. 673, fo. 406 v, quoted in Bertrand de la Broquière, ed. Schefer, p. 20 f. n.; Sakhāwī, *ad-Ḍau al-lāmi‘*, s. v.; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal aṣ-ṣāfi* s. v. (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, f. 46 r on margin), *Nujūm*, VI pp. 634, l. 1, 709/10, 826, l. 16, VII p. 422, l. 16 — p. 423, l. 6; Ibn Iyās II. p. 39, l. 6. from bottom; Weil, V. pp. 195, 259, 289; Sobernheim, *The Encyclopaedia of Islām* s. v. *Īnāl*, (Engl. ed. vol. II. 478); *CIA. Égypte* I. p. 399, n. 4.

I am vocalising this name Aynāl (as Rogers, Lane-Poole, Casanova and

there was a growing tendency to give the title of “*kāfil*”,¹ i.e. the highest that the Mamluk chancery could bestow on any governor, even to governors of medium sized provinces, such as Gaza or Safad. In the third place, the titles *ṣadr* and *mu‘āmil*, far from occurring in Sanjar al-Jāwli’s own texts,² betray a junior man. So far as I can see, *ṣadr* does not occur in the titles of high dignitaries in Syria and Egypt after the Ayyubid period; furthermore, Qalqashandī in his explanation of the *alqāb*, mentions *ṣadr* in the fourth place, between the *arbab al-waṣā’if aṣ-ṣufiyya* and the heads of the Christian and Jewish communities, *Subḥ*, XII. p. 284, l. 12: **وانه يكتب لأرباب**
الوظائف العادية: المجلس السامي، الصدر الأجل الخ³

others used to do) instead of *Īnāl* because Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manḥal* s.v. *Aynāl al-Yūsufī* (MS. Paris, Ar. 2069, fo. 42 v. ll. 6-3 b.) explains the meaning of this word as *Āy-Nāl*, i.e. Moon-rays, adding that it should be written in two words, although it became common practice with “those ignorant of the Turkish language to write it in one word.”

... وابفال معناه باللغة التركية شعاع القمر فان اي هو القمر ونال الشعاع
 وصوابه في الكتابة اي نال لكن اصطلاح ما يكتب الان عند من لا يعرف اللغة
 التركية ان يكتبه موصولا ...

But cf. Houtsma, *Ein türkisch-arabisches Glossar*, p. 29, where it is transcribed *Ināl* and translated as *prince* (“Fürst bei den Kirgisen”).

¹ Cf. besides the examples quoted in *CIA. Égypte* I. p. 224, Khalil az-Zāhirī, *Zubdat-kashf al-mamālik*, p. 134, l. 13 f: **المملكة الصفدية وكاملها الخ**: 4-3 from bottom
المملكة الغزاوية وكاملها الخ: 1 (Safad).

² In these he is called during his time of office as governor of Gaza **نائب السلطنة المعظمة الساحلية والجبليّة** (Minbar of the Main Mosque, Gaza, 718 AH.), **نائب السلطنة الشريفة بالاعمال الساحلية والجبليّة** (Lintel over entrance-door to the Jāmi‘ ash-sham‘a, Gaza, the portion containing the date is broken away), or simply **العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى** (Above the entrance-door of the corridor between the east wall of the Ḥaram at Hebron and the Jāwliyya-Mosque).

³ It will be remembered that in the 9th century, *al-majlis as-sāmī* (written without *yā*) was one of the lowest titles, cf. *Subḥ* V. p. 496, l. 9: **اما في زماننا فقد**

صار في أدنى الرتب being given in official correspondence to such officers as the *kāshif* of Ramleh or the *hājib* of Safad, *Subḥ* VII p. 178, l. 10, p. 179, l. 13.

However, *'amal* being a common word for "district," often used both in literature and epigraphy to designate the province of Gaza, the term *mu'amil* indicates the holder of an administrative post, of a grade considerably lower, although it is difficult to say how much lower, than that of a governor of a province.

9.

DECREE. 853 A.H. Marble slab in the façade between the two entrance doors. Dimensions within the frame, measured on squeeze, 72×26.5 cm. Three lines of cursive Mamluk naskhi, points throughout, many vowels and differentiating signs. Pl. IV. fig. 4.

(1) بِسْمِهِ رَسْمٌ بِالْأَمْرِ الشَّرِيفِ الْعَالِيِ الْمُؤَلَوِيِّ السُّلْطَانِيِّ الْمَلِكِيِّ

الظَاهِرِيِّ السَّيْفِيِّ أَعْلَاهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى

(2) وَشَرْفَهُ وَأَنْفَعْدَهُ وَصَرَّفَهُ أَنْ يَبْطُلَ مَا عَلَى الْمَلْحِ الْمَجْلُوبِ إِلَى

مَدِينَةِ غَزَّةِ الْحُرُوسَةِ مِنَ الْمَكْسِ الَّذِي كَانَ يُؤْخَذُ عِنْدَ بَيْعِ الْمَلْحِ

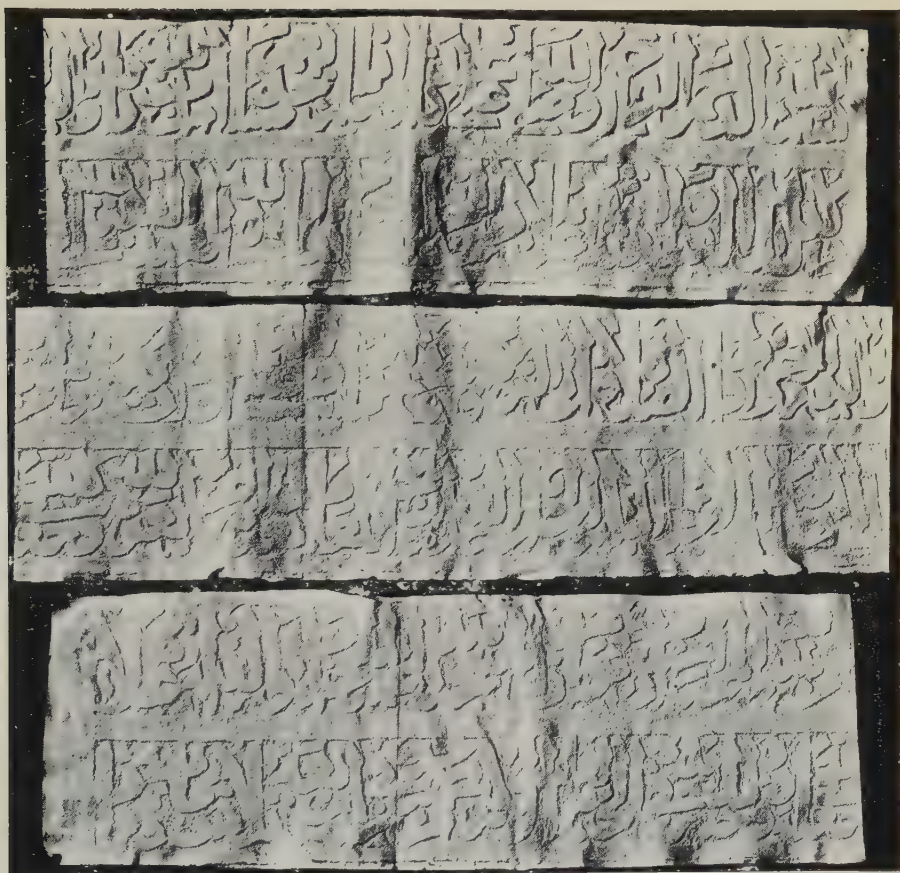
الْمَذْكُورِ

(3) اسْتِجْلَابًا لِلْأَدْعِيَةِ الصَّالِحَةِ لِهَذِهِ الدَّوْلَةِ الْعَادِلَةِ خَلَّدَ اللَّهُ مَلِكَ

سُلْطَانَهَا بِتَأْرِيخٍ خَاتَمَةٍ عَامِ ثَلَاثَةِ وَخَمْسِينَ وَثَمَانِ مِائَةٍ

The Noble and High Order of our Lord, the Sultan al-Malik az-Zāhir Saif (ad-dunyā wa-d-dīn) was issued -- may Allah exalt and honour it and cause it to be carried out fully and completely -- to abolish the tax on salt imported into Gaza, the protected, formerly collected at the sale of the aforementioned salt, in order to draw pious prayers upon this just Government, may God make the reign of its Sultan eternal, at the end of the year 853 (its last day corresponding to 13th February, 1450).

L.I. As-saifī, instead of the fuller title composed of ad-dunyā wa-d-dīn and the name, referring in this case to Jaqmaq, is not unusual, cf. Nuwairī s. a. 730, obituary of Bahādur Aṣ (MS. Leiden fo. 142 r. l. 9), تَأْمَرٌ فِي الدَّوْلَةِ الْمَنْصُورِيَّةِ السَّيْفِيَّةِ, CIA. Jérusalem,



Cliché Department of Antiquities, Jerusalem.



L. A. MAYER:
ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS OF GAZA. IV.

Haram, No. 182, p. 143 (الملكي) الناصري الزيني

L.2. With regard to taxes on salt, cf. Maqrīzī, ed. Wiet II 8, l.10, 82, l.8. In this connexion, *Manẓal al-milh*, situated on the Hijāz-Road, and mentioned by Mujīr ad-dīn¹ as the southern limit of the district of Hebron, should be quoted.

L.3. In a similar text² the titles *ad-daula ash-sharifa* and *ad-daula al-karima* have been rightly interpreted as standing for *al-maqarr ash-sharif* and *al-maqarr al-karim*, referring to the Viceroy of Syria and the Governor of Jerusalem respectively. In our case the epithet *al-'adila* clearly proves that *ad-daula al-'adila* can only be translated literally, because *al-'adil* is never used as an adjective qualifying either *maqarr* or *janāb*.

The expression *khātimat 'ām* is suggestive of *khitām 'ām*,³ one of the epithets of the month of Dhu-l-Hijja.

(To be continued)

¹ *Al-Uns al-jalil*, p. 430 b. The site may be identical with the present Khurbet al-Milh, P.E.F. Map XXV. K. a.

² *CIA. Jérusalem, Haram*, No. 236, p. 317.

³ *CIA. Égypte*, I, No. 526, p. 725, *CIA. Égypte*, II, p. 39, and n. 8.

NOTES DE PREHISTOIRE PALESTINIENNE¹

R. NEUVILLE

(JÉRUSALEM)

I.- LA GROTTTE D'ET-TAOUAMIN.

L'*Ouadi Saïd* est un des nombreux petits torrents qui drainent vers la grande plaine maritime les eaux du versant occidental de la chaîne de Judée. Sa vallée encaissée, aux parois hautes parfois d'une cinquantaine de mètres, s'est creusée dans les derniers contreforts du cénomanien, en mettant à vif par endroits le sénonien qui se dérobe à l'Ouest sous les alluvions de la plaine. A 1.500 mètres au sud du village de *Deir Aban*, l'*Ouadi Saïd* se jette dans la large vallée de l'*Ouadi en-Najil*, affluent de l'*Ouadi Ismaïn*, à quelques centaines de mètres au sud de la route romaine qui reliait Béthléem à *Aïn Shems*, l'ancienne Beth Chéméch.

A un millier de mètres de l'embouchure de l'*Ouadi Saïd* s'ouvre, sur la rive droite de ce torrent, la grotte dite *Mougharet et-Taouamin*, identifiée parfois avec l'Odollam biblique.² L'ouverture se trouve à 5 mètres seulement au dessus du thalweg de l'ouadi et à 340 m. d'altitude; elle est circulaire et perce la paroi S-S-O. de la grotte à même le plafond.

Cette grotte est ovale et mesure une trentaine de mètres de longueur sur une vingtaine de largeur. Elle est presque entièrement

¹ Les fouilles effectuées dans les grottes d'Oumim-Qatafa et d'Oumim-Qalaa, dans l'Ouadi Khareïtoun, feront l'objet de monographies spéciales actuellement en préparation. Une analyse sommaire a déjà été donnée dans cette Revue (R. NEUVILLE, *Additions à la liste des stations préhistoriques de Palestine et Transjordanie*, J.P.O.S. 1929, p. 114.).

² Cf. *La Biblia, Illustracio pels monjos de Montserrat, XXIII-I*, DOM BONAVENTURA UBACH, *El Gènesi*, Montserrat, 1929, qui donne une belle photographie de l'entrée de la grotte (p. 262 et fig. 3 p. 263).

comblée sur les deux tiers de la hauteur, c'est-à-dire sur une dizaine de mètres, par des éboulements rocheux qui ne laissent libre, sur le sol primitif, qu'un couloir d'environ 5 m. de large sur la moitié nord de la grotte; on accède à ce couloir par une rampe rapide qui descend le long de la paroi ouest. Cet éboulement forme le sol actuel que l'on atteint à un mètre au-dessous de l'entrée.

Les infiltrations sont abondantes, particulièrement dans la partie inférieure qui donne accès à d'autres salles où l'eau ruisselle partout. Dans l'une d'elles, une petite citerne a été creusée dans le rocher; des rigoles la relient aux points des parois où le ruissellement est le plus abondant. Stalagmites et stalagtites se rejoignent partout en des colonnes plus ou moins cintrées qui mesurent jusqu'à 50 cm. de diamètre, donnant à cette caverne une originalité qui la rend unique en Palestine.

Il serait difficile, sinon pratiquement impossible, d'effectuer des recherches sous l'énorme amas de rochers. Il est d'ailleurs probable que la grotte n'a pas été habitée avant l'éboulement, qui semble lui avoir donné son unique ouverture. En outre, avant cet effondrement du plafond, cette ouverture, si elle eût existé, se serait trouvée à une quinzaine de mètres au-dessus du sol naturel et aurait été par suite inutilisable pour l'homme. L'éboulement aurait cependant pu être progressif et renfermer entre certaines de ses nappes des restes de cultures préhistoriques.

Nous avons dû limiter nos recherches¹ à la mince couche de terre qui recouvre l'éboulement rocheux. Les vestiges archéologiques qu'elle contenait prouvent qu'aucun rocher ne s'est plus détaché du plafond depuis le Premier âge du bronze.

Cette couche de terre, épaisse en moyenne de 50 cm., semble avoir pénétré dans la grotte par son ouverture et s'être étendue peu à peu, en se mêlant aux débris provenant de la décomposition du rocher. Elle recélait un peu partout des tessons byzantins, romains et israélitiques. Près de la paroi ouest, les tessons des Bronzes II et III abondaient.

Au centre de la grotte, une petite poche de deux mètres de côté

¹ A ces travaux ont pris part le R.P. Duvignau, mon précieux et très cher collaborateur de la grotte d'Oumm Qatafa, et les Fr. Laborde et Duboé, des Prêtres du Sacré-Coeur de Bétharram. La céramique a été étudiée par le R.P. Mallon, qui a bien voulu rédiger la note substantielle que l'on trouvera plus loin.

a livré un matériel relativement abondant, caractéristique du Bronze I tardif. Cette industrie se trouvait entre 25 et 60 cm. de la surface actuelle du sol; elle se composait d'instruments en silex et en os, de tessons de poterie et d'objets en diverses sortes de roches. La poche ne contenait aucune trace de métal.

Nous ne décrivons en détail que les objets provenant de cette poche. Il faut cependant signaler dans le Br. II, outre la céramique qui fait l'objet d'une note du R.P. Mallon, deux forts éléments de faucille en silex (fig. 3, A) et un fragment de vase en basalte avec, à 43 mm. du bord, une collerette de boutons *en relief* (diamètre des boutons 25 mm., relief 8 mm.).

A.—INSTRUMENTS EN SILEX

Hachette.—Une seule hachette (Pl. I, 9) se trouvait dans la poche du Br. I. Elle est en silex gris translucide, sans patine, en forme de feuille de laurier. Le taillant, légèrement convexe, a été obtenu par deux adroites enlevures latérales; il est parfaitement régulier et montre sur ses deux faces un beau poli de l'usage, mais aucune trace de polissage intentionnel.

La pièce mesure 82 mm. de longueur, 34 de largeur et 12 d'épaisseur maxima.

Par sa forme (section lenticulaire) autant que par la technique de la taille (taillant obtenu par enlevures latérales), cette hachette, qu'il importe de ne pas confondre avec le "ciseau" du Br. I ancien (section triangulaire ou trapèzoïdale, taillant obtenu par enlevures frontales), se rattache à l'industrie de surface de Palestine dite jusqu'ici mésolithique ou campignienne¹; cette industrie, absente dans le Br. I ancien (*Qatafa*, *Teleilat Ghassoul*) n'a cependant été trouvée en position stratigraphique que dans le Br. I tardif (Jéricho, *Mougharet el-Ouad*, *Mougharet el-Masa*), en quantité minime d'ailleurs, alors qu'elle abonde dans les stations de surface. Il se pourrait donc que cette industrie ne soit pas antérieure à l'âge du bronze, malgré une certaine ressemblance avec le Campignien d'Europe et l'absence de polissage intentionnel² sur les instruments en silex, d'autant plus que, dans la plupart des stations de surface, elle se rencontre avec des hachettes polies en diverses sortes de roches.³

¹ D. BUZY, *Une industrie mésolithique en Palestine*, dans *Revue Biblique*, 1928, p. 578.

² A. MALLON, *Quelques stations préhistoriques de Palestine*, Beyrouth, 1925, p. 13.

³ J.P.O.S., 1929, pp. 119 (*Ouadi Tahouneh*) et 120 (*Tell el-Foul*).

Flèches.—Deux têtes de flèches se trouvaient dans ce petit gisement.

La première (Pl. I, 3), en silex blanc sans patine, mesure 32 mm. de longueur et 10 dans sa plus grande largeur. Épaisse de 3 mm., ses deux faces sont planes et finement retaillées sur chaque bord. Deux ailerons bien dégagés donnent naissance à un pédoncule dont la forme ovale devait rendre l'emmanchement plus solide.

L'autre pièce (Pl. I, 4), en silex brun sans patine, a exactement les mêmes dimensions. Mais elle n'est pas pourvue d'ailerons et l'une des faces porte une arête centrale tandis que l'autre est plane. La première face ne montre pas de retouches latérales, sauf sur le pédoncule qui affecte la forme pointue habituelle. Sur l'autre face, au contraire, le pédoncule ne porte aucune retouche, tandis que l'extrémité perforante de la pièce est très adroitement retouchée sur toute la largeur et sur une moitié de la longueur.

Couteaux.—Nous trouvons ici le beau couteau à arête dorsale enlevée, caractéristique du Br. I tardif. La plus belle pièce, en silex brun sans patine, est bifide et mesure 65 mm. de long sur 23 de large. Un léger poli de l'usage se montre sur les deux tranchants (Pl. I, 7).

Une autre pièce, en silex brun avec une légère patine blanche, a le dos rabattu et mesure 62 mm. de long sur 22 de large. Ces deux couteaux ont été brisés à leurs extrémités puis retaillés.

Mais le couteau le plus original, unique jusqu'ici en Palestine¹, est une pièce longue de 103 mm., large de 24 et épaisse de 7, *intentionnellement polie* sur les deux faces (Pl. I, 8). Un bord est droit, l'autre convexe; un bout est tronqué en ligne droite, l'autre se termine en pointe mousse. Les deux bords sont amincis à l'aide de retouches, le bord rectiligne restant le plus épais. La pièce est en silex brun clair avec nodules fociles blancs microscopiques. La forme, le poli et la qualité du silex constituent autant de caractéristiques que l'on ne rencontre pas en Palestine. Aussi croirait-on volontiers que cette pièce est d'origine étrangère.

Nous avons également ici le petit couteau (Pl. I, 1) à dos rabattu,

¹ Des pièces analogues ont été trouvées en Europe, où elles sont d'ailleurs fort rares (J. DÉCHELETTE, *Manuel d'Archéologie Préhistorique*, I, 1924, p. 511 et note 1.); cf. J. HAMAL NANDRIN et J. SERVAIS, *Quelques poignards ou pointes de lances en silex trouvés en Belgique*, dans *L'Homme Préhistorique*, 1928, p. 1 et seq...; DE MORTILLET, *Musée Préhistorique*, 1903, Pl. XLV, n^o 460.

commun à l'Enéolithique le plus ancien, où il se distingue encore difficilement de l'élément de faucille.¹

Perçoirs.—Le type des quatre perçoirs recueillis est commun au Br. I ancien où ces instruments abondent. Ici (Pl. I, 5), ils sont cependant moins bien finis, conséquence sans doute de l'introduction de perçoirs en métal.

Pointes.—Nous avons quelques pointes ogivales à talon plat. Celui-ci est parfois aminci et l'arête dorsale de la pièce est alors supprimée. Une des pointes, longue de 50 mm. et large de 30, porte de très belles retouches obliques sur la moitié supérieure d'un des bords.

Éléments de faucille.—On trouve ici deux types de cet instrument. Le premier (Pl. I, 2), qui semble le plus archaïque, quoique encore absent au Br. I ancien, est représenté par des pièces étroites (moyenne 14 mm.) et minces (max. 5 mm.), un bord possédant des denticules plus ou moins marqués, l'autre bord ayant été également aminci par la belle retaille oblique qui recouvre entièrement les pièces sur les deux faces.

Les pièces du deuxième type sont larges et épaisses, une face étant plus plane et se joignant à angle droit avec le dos qui est épais et rabattu; l'autre face possède une arête plus ou moins centrale et forme avec le dos un angle plus ou moins aigu. Les dents du tranchant sont ici "larges, écartées, nullement tranchantes"; aussi ces instruments devaient-ils "servir à faire sauter les graines de graminées ou à décortiquer la partie ligneuse des plantes textiles" plutôt qu'à scier; certaines pièces des deux types ont, par contre, "des dents extrêmement fines, certainement retouchées avec soin pour scier"². La pièce du deuxième type la plus caractéristique que nous ayons ici mesure 43 mm. de long sur 24 de large et 10 d'épaisseur au dos.

L'armature de faucille, qui abonde au Br. II (fig. 3, A), sera le dernier survivant des instruments de pierre en Palestine.

Grattoirs.—Les grattoirs sont peu nombreux et atypiques, généralement sur bout de lames grossières.

Lames.—Quelques lames peu caractéristiques semblent être des ébauches de couteaux manqués.

¹ J. DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte*, t. I, p. 132.

² FERNANDE HARTMANN, *L'Agriculture dans l'Ancienne Égypte*, Paris 1923, p. 13.



MOUGHARET ET-TAOUAMIN. PIÈCES EN SILEX (GR. NAT.)

Microlithes.—Quelques lamelles d'une trentaine de millimètres de longueur portent une retaille extrêmement fine sur un bord et sur la même face d'une des extrémités, qui est convexe. Ces pièces qui semblent être de minuscules grattoirs (Pl. I, 6) se rencontrent également au Br. I ancien.

D'autres lamelles, qui ne montrent que de rares traces de retaille, se terminent par une pointe généralement bien acérée.

B.—INSTRUMENTS EN OS

Perçoirs.—Les perçoirs en os, au nombre de 8, sont du type commun à tout le Br. I. La pièce la plus longue mesure 97 mm. (fig. 1, A).

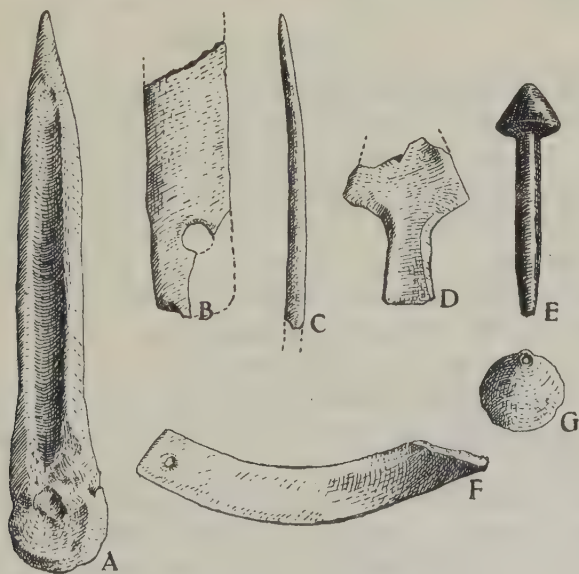


Fig. 1.—MOUHAREF ET-TAOUAMIN, *Bronze I*. Objets en os (A,B,C,D), en hématisse (E) et en défense de sanglier (F). Coquille percée (G). $\frac{3}{4}$ gr. nat.

Aiguille.—Un seul fragment d'aiguille a été recueilli (fig. 1, C). Extrêmement fin, bien poli et arrondi, il mesure 50 mm. de long et 3 dans son plus grand diamètre. Le fragment qui manque étant celui qui correspond au chas, il est difficile de dire si la pièce en

¹ J. DÉCHELETTE, *op. cit.*, fig. 63.

possédait un, comme le type magdalénien analogue¹, ou si elle était emmanchée.¹

Quoi qu'il en soit, ce type ne semble pas se rencontrer dans le Br. I ancien.

Divers.—Un fragment avec pédoncule pourrait appartenir soit à une tête de flèche en os soit à une spatule (fig. 1, D). Les rainures du lissage sont bien apparentes.

Nous avons aussi l'extrémité inférieure avec trou d'une dent de peigne (?) en os du type qui abonde au Br. I ancien (fig. 1, B).²

Une lame courbe de 60 mm. de long sur 11 de large, percée à une des extrémités d'un trou conique de 2 mm. de diamètre (fig. 1, F), est en défense de sanglier. Cet objet ne peut être qu'une pendeloque, comme on en rencontre en Palestine³ et en Europe.⁴

C.—OBJETS DIVERS

Rondelles en céramique.—Trois tessons plats, arrondis au pourtour et percés au centre, pourraient être soit des pendeloques, soit des fusaïoles. Les auteurs ne sont pas d'accord sur l'usage auquel on destinait ces rondelles qui abondent dans tout le Br. I. Etant donné qu'elles sont parfois ornées⁵, nous penchons pour leur emploi comme pendeloques. Nous voyons par contre des fusaïoles dans les rondelles analogues en roches diverses⁶ ou dans celles en terre-cuite ayant la forme de deux cônes juxtaposés par la base.

Le type que nous avons ici mesure 45 mm. de diamètre et 12 mm. d'épaisseur, le diamètre moyen du trou étant de 8 mm., La pâte est grossière, mal cuite et mélangée de fragments calcaires blancs et gris.

Anneau en basalte.—Cet anneau, qui pourrait encore être une pendeloque, mesure 35 mm. de diamètre et 14 d'épaisseur moyenne; comme dans la plupart des pièces en pierre trouées, on a mené le

¹ J. DÉCHELETTE, *Ibid.*, fig. 538.

² *Ibid.*, p. 580; A. MALLON, *Les fouilles de l'Institut Biblique Pontifical dans la plaine du Jourdain, Rapport préliminaire*, dans *Biblica*, 1930, p. 14.

³ A. MALLON, *Ibid.*, p. 16 et fig. 3, n° 2.

⁴ J. DÉCHELETTE, *op. cit.*, p. 576.

⁵ J. DE MORGAN, *La Préhistoire Orientale*, II, p. 102.

⁶ Certaines rondelles en albâtre, admirablement bien polies, ne semblent pourtant pas être des fusaïoles, quoique de forme identique (*Teleilat Ghassoul*).

creusement du trou de chaque côté de la pièce, de sorte qu'il se resserre au centre; le diamètre du trou est de 14 mm. sur les faces et de 9 mm. au centre. Une face de la pièce est arrondie, l'autre aplaniée par polissage.

Massue.—Une moitié de massue en roche grise est du type globulaire¹ rare encore au Br. I ancien. Le diamètre de la pièce entière était de 68 mm. et sa hauteur de 50. Comme dans la pièce précédente, le trou est resserré au centre: son diamètre est de 52 mm. à l'extérieur et de 16 au centre.

Demi-disque en calcaire.—Cette pièce a un bord rectiligne long de 47 mm. et l'autre en demi-cercle, le rayon étant de 23 mm. et l'épaisseur maxima de 8. Les rainures du lissage que la pièce a subi sont visibles sur les deux faces, mais il a particulièrement porté sur le bord rectiligne. Il est difficile de dire à quel usage était destiné cet instrument.

Clou (?) en hématite.—Un clou en hématite rouge, à tête conique, rappelle ceux trouvés à Ur en Chaldée.² Celui-ci est plus régulier et mesure 40 mm. de longueur (fig. 1, E).

Coquille percée.—Une minuscule coquille de pectoncle porte un trou conique artificiel³; les traces de l'instrument perforant sont parfaitement nettes.

La coquille percée par l'homme est encore rare au Br. I ancien.

D.—CÉRAMIQUE

Le R.P. Mallon a bien voulu étudier la poterie et rédiger la note suivante:

“Toute la poterie sortie de la grotte d'*Et-Taouamin* est fragmentaire, sauf un petit pot du Br. II, représenté fig. 3, B, dont le col et l'anse seuls sont brisés.

Bronze I.—Les tessons de la première phase de l'âge du Bronze proviennent du sondage central. La pâte est en général grossière, mal pétrie, mêlée de molécules blanches de calcaire et de petits éclats bruns de silex aux coins anguleux. Plusieurs pièces s'effritent

¹ J. DECHELETTE, *op. cit.*, pp. 518-519.

² HALL and WOOLLEY, *Ur Excavations*, Vol. I *Al-Ubaid*, p. 211 et Pl. XXXVII, Nos 387 à 389.

³ Sur l'emploi des coquilles comme amulettes contre le mauvais oeil, cf. A. BERTHOLET, *Histoire de la Civilisation d'Israël*, Paris 1929, p. 74.

au toucher, ce qui d'ailleurs est plutôt le résultat de l'humidité du terrain avoisinant.

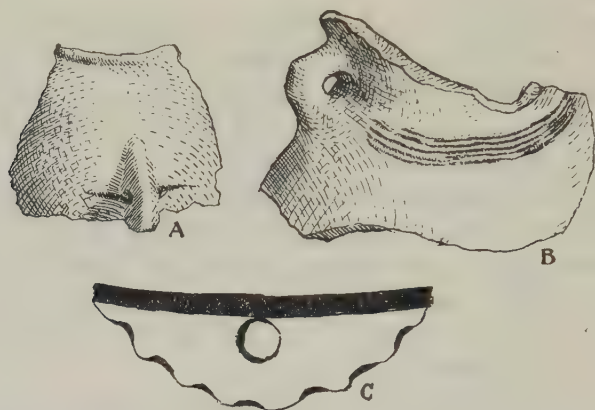


Fig. 2.- MOUGHARET ET-TAOUAMIN. Bronze 1. Céramique. $\frac{1}{2}$ gr. nat..

En raison de l'état où elle a été réduite, il est assez difficile de reconstituer cette vaisselle. Les fonds sont normalement plats. La poche a fourni une anse arrondie assez petite, deux oreillettes horizontales ondulées et deux oreillettes verticales trièdres perforées et denticulées au rebord (fig. 2, C). A la forme des tessons on peut reconnaître quelques types assez fréquents dans cette industrie: l'amphorette à petites oreillettes implantées à la naissance du col, les gobelets et coupes à parois droites ou légèrement incurvées, les tasses à rebords repliés à l'intérieur, les jarres sans goulot à ouverture resserrée et rebords épais, celles à encolure plus ou moins haute, avec rebords moulurés ou non. Notons aussi un fragment en argile blanche avec une petite oreillette perforée (fig. 2, A).

Quelques tessons montrent un essai de peinture. L'un appartient à un petit récipient sphéroïde recouvert à l'intérieur d'un engobe rouge et portant au rebord extérieur une bande de même couleur. Sur l'autre, les bandes rouges semblent former des chevrons. Un fragment d'amphorette porte au col le décor incisé au peigne en lignes parallèles et horizontales (cinq denticules fig. 2, B). Le même décor se voit au col et au globe d'un autre tesson.

Bronze II.—Nombreux tessons provenant du sondage latéral, au nord du précédent. On peut y distinguer les principales formes de cette belle industrie telle qu'elle se révèle dans les tells cananéens : le pot à fond pointu à une seule anse et déversoir, le petit vase globulaire à goulot étroit et anse géminée, le vase piriforme, la jarre aux grandes anses arrondies, le récipient à pied plus ou moins haut, épaule plate rattachée à la panse par une arête plus ou moins saillante, embouchure évasée.

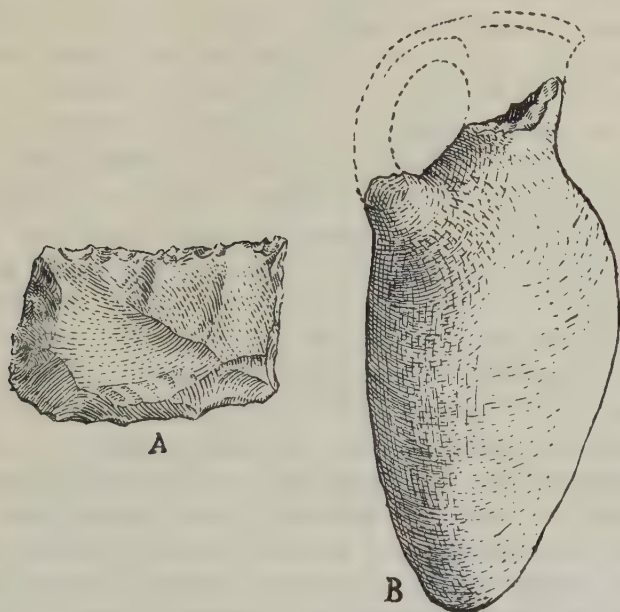


Fig. 3.— MOUGHARET ET-ŒAOUAMIN. *Bronze II.* Élément de faucille en silex (gr. nat.) et pot en terre-cuite ($\frac{1}{2}$ gr. nat.).

On ne trouve pas trace de peinture sur ces tessons, mais le décor incisé en lignes parallèles et horizontales s'y affirme en bandes plus larges qu'au Br. I.

La poterie se fait beaucoup plus rare aux âges suivants. On y note des tessons de Br. III, Fer et époque byzantine".

CONCLUSIONS

C'est aux plus anciennes cultures connues de Jéricho et de tant d'autres tells cananéens qu'appartient l'industrie du Br. I que nous venons de passer rapidement en revue.

Cette industrie se différencie nettement de celle de la phase précédente du Premier âge du bronze, telle que nous la connaissons par une couche de la grotte d'*Oumm Qatafa* et par l'importante ruine de *Teleilat Ghassoul*.

Ici, le "ciseau" poli en silex, qui règne dans ces deux derniers sites, a complètement disparu, de même qu'à Jéricho. Son compagnon habituel, le beau racloir en éventail,¹ déjà rare et alourdi à Jéricho, n'est pas représenté ici.

Nous y trouvons par contre, comme dans les couches les plus anciennes des tells, la tête de flèche en silex, le large couteau bifide à arête dorsale supprimée et les éléments de faucille à retaille oblique, tous objets totalement absents parmi les milliers d'instruments en silex recueillis à *Teleilat Ghassoul* et à *Oumm Qatafa*.

La hachette, nous l'avons déjà vu, semble nous rapprocher également de Jéricho et des couches contemporaines d'autres gisements.

Les données de l'industrie en silex correspondent parfaitement avec celles de la poterie. L'oreillette ondulée de Jéricho et de *Tell Moustah*, inconnue à *Teleilat Ghassoul*² et à *Oumm Qatafa*, est bien représentée ici où, par contre, la petite oreillette perforée est devenue rare, remplacée qu'elle est par l'anse arrondie.

Nous avons donc ici, dans une grotte perdue de la montagne, les produits de la même civilisation qui fleurissait dans les cités primitives de Jéricho, de Gézer et de tant d'autres villes célèbres de Canaan au commencement du II^e millénaire avant notre ère. Cette grotte ne semble pourtant pas avoir été un lieu d'habitation sédentaire; elle ne s'y prêtait d'ailleurs pas: l'humidité, même si elle n'était pas à l'époque plus intense qu'aujourd'hui, et le froid qu'elle y entretient encore, devaient rendre difficilement habitable cette caverne à des hommes qui n'étaient plus les rudes témoins des intempéries quaternaires, mais qui étaient au contraire habitués à un climat chaud et généralement sec.

¹ A. MALLON, *Notes sur quelques sites du Ghôr Oriental*, dans *Biblica*, 1929, p. 98 et note 1; *Fouilles de Teleilat Ghassoul*, dans *Biblica*, 1930, p. 14.

Certains de ces "racloirs" étaient sans doute de vrais couperets.

² A. MALLON, *Ibid.*, p. 20.

La grotte d'*Et-Taouamin* devait plutôt être utilisée comme refuge, soit par les bergers des environs, soit par les voyageurs en quête d'une source et d'un abri pour l'étape.¹

¹ Au moment de mettre sous presse je reçois de M. Pallary, l'éminent naturaliste et préhistorien de l'Afrique du Nord, ses détermination des quelques coquilles recueillies dans la poche du Br. I de la grotte :

- 1.- Moitié d'une valve de *Cardium tuberculatum* L. .
- 2.- Débris nacrés d'un *Unio*.
- 3.- Valve très usée, rendue triangulaire, d'un petit Pectoncle.
- 4.- Fragment de coquille fossile d'un Gastéropode très probablement (*Cassis*?, *Echinophora* ?)

A SYNAGOGUE INSCRIPTION FROM BEIT JIBRIN

E. L. SUKENIK

(JERUSALEM)

In the year 1925 I heard that in one of the houses of Beit Jibrin there was a Jewish inscription. I went there on behalf of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society in order to find it and report about it. I found it without great difficulty in the house of Shaikh Muḥammad Ismaʿin. Before the War this shaikh used to deal in antiquities coming to light from time to time in the vicinity of this village, so rich in remains of the past. He used to sell the small finds to dealers and tourists, embedding architectural fragments, especially the heavier ones, into the walls of his house. The "façade" of his house looked therefore like a wall of a *Musée Lapidaire*. Fig. No. 1. gives a clear idea of the various pieces of architecture adorning his abode, such as an old lintel, capitals of a Byzantine Church, one of them with a cross, a shaft of a column, a pillar of a chancel and close to it the drum of a column inscribed in Hebrew characters. Despite the many questions I asked of the Shaikh with regard to the provenance of this inscription, I was unable to obtain trustworthy information. All I could gather was that he found it some thirty years ago in the village in a heap of stones.

The stone buried upside down in the wall, and partly hidden by other stones, did not reveal to me too much of its contents. The beginning and the end of the inscription, and a few odd words in the middle, were legible enough, but no more. What I did decipher was published in the Journal of the aforementioned Society.¹ A few months ago this stone was brought with many others to the

¹ *Qōbeṣ*, II, p. 143 ff.

Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem. Availing myself of this opportunity, I studied it again and prepared a facsimile of the text which is being published herewith as fig. 2.

The drum of limestone is 40 cm high, with a diameter of about 30 cms. The inscription, engraved in an elipsoid circle, consists of seven lines. The left hand side of the inscription is damaged, a fact particularly regrettable in the case of the third line, where the beginning has been obliterated as well.

- | | |
|----|-------------------|
| 1. | דכיר |
| 2. | לטב קורים |
| | ? |
| 3. | ... עיי ניה נפ[ש] |
| 4. | בר אוכסנטים |
| | ? |
| 5. | דיבן הדין עמודא |
| 6. | דיקרה דבנישראל |
| 7. | שלום |

Lines 1-2. דכיר לטב the usual formula in synagogue inscriptions. In Palmyrene inscriptions the preposition is slightly different, namely קורים. דכיר לטב It seems to me that this word can be considered only a transcription of the Greek $\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota$; ט is transliterated י.

Line 3. עיי... The beginning of this word is obliterated. It represents probably a name, following the last word of the previous line $\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota$. ניה נפ[ש] The first stroke of the ש is still distinguishable. In Judaeo-Greek tituli of the Jaffa cemetery נפ[ש] ניה.

Line 4. אוכסנטים = $\alpha\upsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\mu$.

Line 5. דיבן The spelling דיבנה would have been more correct. It is possible of course that because of ה the first letter of the next word, the ה terminating the original דיבנה was dropped, as was done in the case of the י in the sixth line. But one cannot in silence pass over the fact that the נ is a *nun finale*. It is not impossible that the word should be read דוכן.

Line 6. דיקרה דבני ישראל The last two words are joined together, and the י in the middle serves both words, a clear case of involutio. Owing to lack of space the last letters of this line are cramped, and the last י is deformed to almost a stroke.

The inscription should be translated as follows:

1. Be remembered

2. With a blessing the Lord
3. peace upon his soul
4. The son of Auxentios
5. Who built (or: bought) this column
6. In honour of the Children of Israel.
7. Peace.

In 1874, Clermont-Ganneau found a capital showing a seven-branched candlestick in relief in the same village.¹ He recognised that this capital belonged to a synagogue. There is hardly any doubt that our inscription once adorned a synagogue as well.

In an interesting article² based upon Talmudic material, Büchler tried to prove that there were no Jewish inhabitants at Beit Jibrin at the time of R. Jehuda han-Nâsi (end of the second and beginning of the third Century). Our inscription can be considered evidence of a later Jewish settlement in that place.

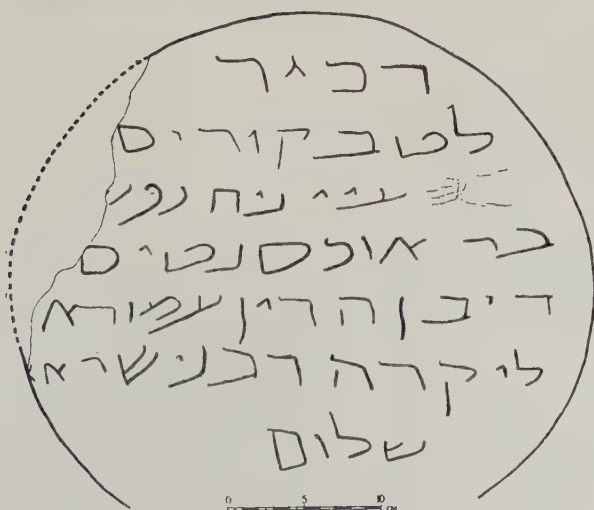
Of special interest are the title *κύριος* and the phrase "in honour of the Children of Israel" which can be interpreted as an indication of the non-Jewish origin of the donor. In this connexion it may not be out of place to call attention to a passage in the Jerusalem Talmud (Megilla III. 2) stating that "Antoninus offered a candelabre to a synagogue. Rabbi heard of it and said: Blessed be God who inspired him with the idea of offering a candelabre to a synagogue." If my interpretation is right, we have here the first case of a gift from a Gentile to a synagogue mentioned in Jewish epigraphy in Palestine.

¹ *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, II. p. 442.

² "R. Jehuda I und die Städte Palästinas" (in: *Jew. Qu. Review*, Old Series, vol. 13, p. 683 ff.)



← Fig. 1



← Fig. 2

THE NEW GEZER INSCRIPTION

W. R. TAYLOR

Among the recent epigraphic discoveries in Palestine to which I referred in my article in this number is the inscription on a small fragment of pottery found on the top of the tell of Gezer. Further examination of this inscription has altered my opinion concerning the nature of the script. It seems now certain that the script is at least a thousand years older than I had at first believed and is therefore the oldest script yet discovered in Palestine. The discovery of it will rank as one of the most important made during the last quarter of a century and is nothing short of sensational in its implications.

The problem of the script is directly related to that of the age of the pottery fragment on which it appears. It is evident that the letters were not incised in the material after it had been burnt but, as I stated earlier in a foot-note to my article, were made by a sharp instrument, a stick or a bone, while the clay was still soft. Everyone who has examined the writing agrees as to that observation.

On my first examination of the script I assumed that it belonged roughly to the period within which other Gezer inscriptions belonged, certainly not earlier than the Middle Iron Age. The writing showed certain resemblances to the script of the Gezer Calendar. I also assumed that the pottery was most probably Iron-Age material. With these assumptions it was clear how the script must be read. The first letter must be a simplified *beth*, of which we see a still more simplified form in the Gezer boundary-stone which I discovered. The second letter resembles the *waw* or *nun*, the disputed letter which appears in the Gezer Calendar, and the third is like the archaic

mem with which we are familiar, although it has probably four instead of three strokes. The inscription, therefore, would be equivalent to **חם**.

However when I showed the fragments to Professor Butin when he arrived at the American School of Oriental Research fresh from his search for new inscriptions at Serâbît, he was struck by the similarity of the three letters to the Sinaitic script and read them as **כני**. This led of necessity to the problem of the age of the pottery and the sherd was submitted to three experts in Palestinian pottery, Père Vincent, Professor Garstang, and Doctor Fisher. Each of them without knowing the opinion of the others and without hesitation pronounced the pottery to be of the Middle Bronze Age (2000-1600 B.C.). The unanimous judgement of these experienced and cautious archaeologists makes it clear that the script has to be studied in relation to an older type of writing than the archaic Hebrew as it seems certain that the Sinaitic script offers the closest parallels, particularly in respect to the second and third letters.

But if this equation be granted and it be assumed that the Serâbît inscriptions have been correctly deciphered, the three letters on our fragment of pottery still offer some individual features which deserve attention. For example, is the script to be read horizontally, as the illustration suggests, or vertically, from right to left or from left to right? The Serâbît inscriptions exhibit some variety in these details. Further Professor Lake, who was associated with Professor Butin in the recent search for new inscriptions at Serâbît, thinks with good reason that the second letter may be *lamed* rather than *nun*.

On account of the formation of the third letter, I am inclined to believe that the letters are to be read horizontally and from right to left. If then the second letter be *nun*, it exhibits in two respects some differences from the Serâbît script. In the latter *nun* is a serpentine letter but in our script it is standing on its tail and is straight rather than undulating. If we read the letters vertically, then the third sign, which is most probably *yodh*, is lying on its side in what seems both from the standpoint of the Serâbît *yodh* and from the formation of the letter to be an unnatural position. In the earlier published alphabet of the Sinaitic script the *nun* had no head, but I am informed that in the inscriptions found this year

the *nun* showed in some instances a head. On the whole then, it is probable that the three letters should be read either as נני or as בני, preferably as the latter.

The importance of this tantalizingly brief inscription will occur immediately to all students of epigraphy. In the first place, it affords evidence for the dating of the Serâbit inscriptions by showing definitely that the script was in use between 2000 and 1600 B.C. and supports, therefore, those who would date the Serâbit inscriptions about 1900 B.C. (cf. *Harvard Theological Review*, XXI, 1928, pp. 21-25). Secondly, the appearance of this script in Palestine at a point like Gezer excites several questions. Was it used by Palestinians about Gezer and elsewhere? Or was it written by one who was foreign to these regions? Or was the fragment originally part of a vessel that was brought with an offering from a distant point to the temple near the site of which it was found? In any case, it seems to show the direction in which this script, hitherto known only in Sinai, was moving. Naturally we are puzzled by the fact that other examples of this script were not found at Gezer and have not appeared elsewhere. It is this absence of other examples that might dispose one to believe that it was exotic in Palestine, but it is too early to express a judgement in this respect. We must wait until Gezer reveals some of the secrets that may be buried in its unexcavated portions or until excavations elsewhere yield fresh evidences positive or negative. In the meantime we know that the soil of Palestine has yielded three letters of Middle Bronze Age script.

XVIII^e CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES ORIENTALISTES.¹

Secrétariat : Musée Ethnographique, Rapenburg 67/69, Leiden, Pays-Bas.

Première Communication.

En vertu de la décision prise le 1 septembre 1928 à la dernière réunion du XVII^e Congrès International des Orientalistes à Oxford, le XVIII^e Congrès devra se réunir aux Pays-Bas.

Un comité s'est formé dans la ville universitaire de Leiden pour organiser la préparation du prochain congrès. Ce comité a décidé provisoirement que le XVIII^e congrès se réunira à Leiden (lieu de réunion du VI^e congrès en 1883) dans la semaine du 7 au 12 septembre 1931.

Le comité adresse cette première communication aux orientalistes et aux sociétés orientalistes en les priant de lui accorder leur collaboration, pour que le congrès soit assuré d'une réussite complète. Nous espérons qu'on voudra donner au contenu de la présente communication une publicité aussi grande que possible.

Le comité se propose de faire paraître dans quelques mois une seconde communication, accompagnée de l'invitation définitive pour le congrès.

Leiden, avril 1930.

J. H. KRAMERS,
secrétaire.

¹ The JOURNAL gladly publishes this notice at the request of the Secretary. ED.

CHRONICLE OF THE SOCIETY, 1929.

At the Thirty-seventh General Meeting held on February 14th, at the American School of Oriental Research, the following papers were read:

- Ist tell en-naşbe Mizpah? (Dr. H. W. HERTZBERG)
- The Meaning of the Word *διαστήριον* in the New Testament (Professor E. A. WICHER)
- A Comparison of Ancient and Modern Egyptian Spinning (Mrs. J. W. CROWFOOT).
- Tells du premier âge du Bronze dans le Ghôr oriental (Le Rév. Père A. MALLON).

At the Thirty-eighth General Meeting held on March 21st, the following papers were read:

- a) at the American School of Oriental Research:
 - Hyksos Fortresses in Palestine and Syria (Dr. W. F. ALBRIGHT)
 - Water in Palestine Superstition (Dr. T. CANAAN)
- b) At the Dominican École Biblique:
 - A lantern lecture on "Remains of Ancient Synagogues in Galilee" (Dr. E. L. SUKENIK)

At the Thirty-ninth General Meeting held on May 16th, at the American School of Oriental Research, the following papers were read:

- De l'existence d'un Néolithique *sensu stricto* en Palestine (M. René NEUVILLE)
- The Excavations at Ur (Rev. Fr. Eric BURROWS, S.J.)
- Presidential Address (Mr. E. T. RICHMOND)
- The Newly Found Hebrew Inscriptions by the Haram Enclosure (Dr. L. A. MAYER.)

At the Fortieth General Meeting held on November 28th at the Ecole Biblique of the Dominican Fathers, the following paper was read:

Die Ausgrabungen in Ramet el-Chalil bei Hebron (The excavations at Ramet el-Halîl near Hebron, with lantern slides, Prof. Dr. E. MADER).

At this last General Meeting the following were unanimously elected to serve on the Board of Directors during the year 1930: *President*—Le Rév. Père ABEL; *Vice-Presidents*—Mr. J. W. CROWFOOT, Mr. D. YELLIN; *Secretary*—Dr. T. CANAAN; *Treasurer*—Propst Lic. H. W. HERTZBERG; *Directors*—Le Rév. Père DHORME, Dr. C. C. McCOWN, and Dr. H. SEEGER.

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR YEAR ENDING

December 31st, 1929

Receipts	L.P. Mils
Balance in hand, December 31st, 1928	82. 797
Subscriptions paid during 1929	186. 190
Sale of Journal and reprints	<u>36. 288</u>
Total: L.P.	305. 275

Expenditure	
Printing programmes, appeals, receipts	3. 775
Postage and distributions of Journal, IX, 1-2	11. 930
Preparing clichés	14. 680
Refreshments supplied at General Meetings	8. 000
Stationary	. 950
Printing and Despatch of No. 1 and 2 of vol. IX	63. 548
Present to Dr. Albright	21. 000
Check book, Bank expenses	. 340
Balance in hand, December 31st, 1929	<u>181. 052</u>
Total: L.P.	305. 275 ¹

¹ The expenses for Printing No. 3 and 4 of the year 1929 will appear in the Report for 1930, as they were paid in January 1930.

All correspondence, scientific contributions, books for review, remittances, etc. should be addressed to the *Secretary, Palestine Oriental Society*

Dr. T. CANAAN



Fig. 1 Tell Seilün, looking South. 1929

THE EXCAVATION OF SHILOH 1929

PRELIMINARY REPORT

BY

HANS KJÆR, M. A.

DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, COPENHAGEN.

It is a well-known fact that, since the time of Robinson, 1838,¹ *Shiloh*, the town of Eli and Samuel, where, during part of the time of the Judges, was the site of the sanctuary which for some years contained the Ark of the Convent, has generally been considered as identical with the place called by present-day Arabs *Seilân*, a tell facing a plain towards the South, about 4 km East of Khân el-Lubban.

A brief summary of Biblical tradition about this place and the mention of it by ancients was given in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1927, p. 202 ff.

As the reader may know, the first investigations of Shiloh were made under my leadership in the year 1926. In order to throw light on the question of the periods in which there had been settlements in the place, two excavations were begun on the South side of the tell near the top; firstly, a comprehensive one of about 450 square metres, secondly, a smaller one farther East. Strata some of which were 3 or 4 metres deep were uncovered, and several remains of buildings were found, the oldest of which dated from Hellenistic times, the youngest from about 1300 A.D., suggesting that the final destruction of the place occurred at the time of Saladin the Magnificent, and that, since then, it has been deserted. Besides, however, various grottos were found in the rock

¹ E. ROBINSON, *Palästina*, Halle, 1841, vol. III, I, p. 306.

itself containing a number of potsherds from earlier periods, which seem to indicate the presence of settlements as early as the early part of the Iron Age, perhaps even earlier. In the southern part of the plain we found an "open-air weli," Mohammedan in its later form but placed in a curious, flat excavation in the surface of the rock, this cavity in the rock being partially surrounded by stones set on edge. Several facts seemed to indicate that, even before the erection of the Mohammedan weli, the place had the character of a sanctuary. And the appearance of this third Mohammedan sanctuary side by side with the partially remaining *Jāmi' el-Yeleim* and *Jāmi' es-Sittin*, confirms the belief that from olden times the place had its special character, even if direct traces of the old Israelite sanctuary could not be recognized. A wine-press in the neighbourhood, cut into the rock, reminds of the account of the way in which the Benjamites, concealing themselves in the vineyards, procured wives for themselves by carrying off the daughters of Shiloh when they went to dance at the festival (Judges XXI).

The results attained cannot but confirm the belief that Shiloh really is identical with Scilûn. The investigations roused considerable interest in Denmark, and the Danish Committee, the Chairman of which still is Dean H. USSING, D.D., the other members being the Chief Librarian of the Royal Library, H. O. LANGE, Professor F. BUHL, Director H. HJERL-HANSEN, Baron H. ROSENKRANTZ, Professor, formerly Chief Rabbi, D. SIMONSEN, Dean C. SKOVGAARD-PETERSEN, and as secretary, Dr. H. INGHOLT, voted a continuation of the work. A collection of new funds was started, chiefly in ecclesiastically and scientifically interested circles and contributions received from the RABEN-LEVETZAU FUND, and from the Danish newspaper *Berlingske Tidende*, the Chief Editors of which, Mr. CHR. GULMANN and Mr. SVENN POULSEN, had given very considerable support to the first investigation. In 1926, Mr. Poulsen stayed a fortnight at the site of the excavations. A sum total of about £1100 was procured and the investigations of 1929 were carried out for this amount.

The following investigators were chosen: Director, the author of this paper, HANS KJER; members, Dr. AAGE SCHMIDT, Biblical scholar, and as Architect, Mr. SVEND BECK. Mr. CH. CHRISTENSEN the

architect, who had taken part in the investigations of 1926, was prevented by ill health from joining us. An illness of long duration prevented M. le Père H. VINCENT, who had promised to undertake the general advisorship, from devoting to the second investigation the same active interest as he did in 1926. But Professor W. F. ALBRIGHT did us the great favour of undertaking this task. He assisted in the planning of the investigation and further paid several visits to the excavations while the work was going on. I cannot find expressions strong enough for my gratitude to Professor Albright for the support which he has given to our work, in planning as well as in determining even in detail the results obtained. The Department of Antiquities, Director E. RICHMOND, Mr. C. LAMBERT, and Dr. L. A. MAYER, showed our work the greatest interest, giving it their active support. Very welcome visits were paid to us, especially by Dr. SUKENIK and by Professor Dr. A. E. MADER, by Dr. CLARENCE FISHER and by our nearest "neighbour," Professor W. F. BADÈ, who at the same time was carrying on investigations at Tell en-Naşbeh, and by many other members of the society of learning of Jerusalem. Further, I should mention that two Danish institutions, the East Asiatic Company, Chairman Mr. H. N. ANDERSEN, and the Tuborg Breweries, Chairman Mr. B. DESSAU, supported the investigations in various ways. The means for the preparation and translation of this Preliminary Report, as also for the purchase of pictures, were granted by the Danish *Rask-Oersted Fund*. Further, I ought to mention that from Denmark we brought with us a collaborator, Mr. FRODE JENSEN, who, by his knowledge of the Arabic vernacular and by all his other numerous and varied accomplishments, proved a very great help to us. ODE GIRIES, teacher of Jifnâ, whose services I value very highly, acted as interpreter and foreman. Among our Arabic collaborators I may mention AHMAD AL-MAHMUD and RAJA HAMDAN, the best of several good assistants. Only men were employed at the investigations, in number up to 42, women only serving in carrying water from the distant well, 'Ain Seilûn. As will be seen, this marks a partially new procedure. On Dr. Schmidt's initiative, we introduced a very extensive use of the wheelbarrow. This was due to the fact that the areas under investigation were at our disposal partly through compulsory lease,

partly through purchase, as also in the case of dumping grounds, so that there was no question of conveying the earth back. The excavations were carried on to the very last day. For the minuter work I introduced from my Danish practice the small trowel and the spatula.

The start of the investigations was handicapped by the unusually cold spring, which had already caused unexpected difficulties on the journey through Europe. We had made up our minds to camp on the site, and the camp was duly formed with Danish camping outfit by March, but the climatic conditions did not allow the full use of the camp till about the middle of the month. Even then the stay in the camp remained rather uncomfortable for a long time, and evening work was impossible. As late as the 21 or 22 April heavy squalls threatened to overthrow the camp. As the reader may know, the place is situated at a rather high elevation, according to the English maps 2230 feet above the sea at the foot of the tell.

Apart from initial difficulties there was no serious friction with the Arabs. The normal day's wage was ten piasters. Concerning a series of practical questions we always found willing support from the District Officer of Nablus, D. B. CARMİ, our relations with whom became not only official, but those of real friendship. After the close of the investigations the Department began an expropriation of the areas of two Christian churches, the Pilgrims' Church and the Basilica known to the Arabs as *el-Habs*.¹

Part of the antiquities discovered was chosen by the Government for the Palestine Museum, Jerusalem, while the greater part will go to the National Museum, Copenhagen, Department of Classical Antiquities. All the material has been prepared in the Laboratory of the National Museum. The ordinary archaeological material has been prepared under my personal supervision. The five large earthen vessels from House A on the tell caused especially great difficulties, and in this connection I wish to mention the two assistants

¹ I have noticed a paragraph about the investigations in the *Bulletin* of the American Schools, Oct., 1929 and by A. MALLON, *Biblica*, X, 369-75. The comment in the *Archiv f. Orientforschung* is quite misleading. Also in the paper of A. Mallon I regret to find some small errata; a settlement from 2000-1600 B.C. has not been found. See further Prof. McCown, *Am. J. of Arch.*, 1930, p. 95.

who were occupied in this work, Mr. S. KOEHLER and Mr. I. NIELSEN. My expert colleagues have always shown me the greatest helpfulness. Mr. G. GALSTER, Deputy Keeper of the National Museum, has determined the coins minted by Europeans, Professor J. OESTRUP those from Arabia. Mr. M. DEGERBOEL, Assistant Keeper of the Zoological Museum, has determined the rather numerous animal bones, Dr. KNUD JESSEN, of the Geological Survey of Denmark, the charcoal, Dr. R. SPAERCK, Assistant Keeper of the Zoological Museum, the mollusks, and Docent J. P. J. RAVN of the Mineralogical Museum has given his opinion on the fossils. In the case of charcoal and mollusks, as in the case of fossils, the statements are, however, only preliminary, as sufficient material for comparison is not available in Copenhagen.

The photographic work was done by the director, supplemented on certain points by Dr. AAGE SCHMIDT. All surveys and drawings were made by the Architect SVEND BECK.

Shiloh, Seilûn, lies about 40 km in a northerly direction from Jerusalem. The road to Seilûn branches off from the highway at the 37th kilometre stone, running eastwards, across the plain North of Turmus 'Aiyâ, first to North-East, next to the North, and then across Wâdi Mûsâ and the border of Samaria, which is generally considered the southern border of Ephraim's tribe as well. Having passed Wâdi Mûsâ and the sloping rock side to the North of Wâdi Mûsâ, one stands facing the low Hirbet Seilûn range. Behind this lies to the North the deeply cut Wâdi Seilûn and next a still higher mountain. On the North side of this mountain lies the fellâh village Kuryut, the inhabitants of which own the lands about Seilûn. The inhabitants in the smaller part of this village, which is divided in two parts, preserve a vague tradition that in a distant past their ancestors had lived at Seilûn. And a well named 'Ain Seilûn is still found in the valley North-East of Seilûn.

As I go on to the account of the results of our work in 1929, which surely may be called important on several points, and the account of which, consequently, should be rather detailed, I am obliged at once to make certain reservations and, at very essential points even, to regard my results as preliminary. In the publication of this report I also cherish a hope that the mere presentation of the preliminary statements will call forth contributions

to the final understanding of the facts. I need not add that I shall hail such contributions with the greatest satisfaction. At some few points my original views have been modified by discussions, especially with Dr. Aage Schmidt. However, where the contrary is not expressly stated, I am alone responsible for this presentation of the facts.

In the report I shall proceed in another order than the one in which the investigations were made. I begin at the earliest finds, proceeding in chronological order to the latest.

The absolutely earliest finds were made at the very last investigation, i. e. on Hîrbet Seilûn itself. During an introductory survey of the ground Professor ALBRIGHT called our attention to a piece of wall which, judged from its site, would seem to be a *city wall*. It was a venture; but regardless of the fact that the place was not one of those which had formerly been regarded as most promising, and that it offered considerable difficulties on account of its masses of stone from later periods, the programme of the investigation was altered. The necessary areas were obtained by a series of purchases of the ground. It was parcelled out in a number of lots.

The place was situated on the west side of the tell, where the ground slopes very steeply (cf. Pl. I). Here was a regular piece of wall about 15 metres long, and up to 3 metres high, with a projecting "bastion" in the South. The character of the wall and the look of the place at the beginning of the excavation is shown in Fig. 2.

In front of it there is a small terrace, and farther down on the side of the mountain are various remains of walls, which according to Professor Albright seemed more like fortified terraces than ordinary terraces made for the purpose of cultivation.

We concentrated a principal part of the investigations on this place, in the expectation, of course, of finding *within* this "city wall" parts of buildings showing the characteristics of greatest antiquity. On the surface a good deal of wildly confused stone slide was seen, which had to be removed. Our intention was to use as dumping ground the area about 11 metres broad lying before the wall. But before it was taken into use, we took soundings. We thought there might be graves in this place. There was a number of larger and smaller stones, so that the ground looked



Fig. 2. The "City Wall" looking North-West

like a litter of stones or a glaci^{er}. Nevertheless graves could exist, concealed farther down. However, it soon became evident that just this very ground was of the most signal importance. This plot must on no account be covered, and consequently we were obliged to lay out a new terrace wall outside it which grew to very large dimensions, in the end 60 metres long, about 4 metres high and 2 metres broad! The building of this terrace wall was carried out without accidents worth mentioning. (See Fig. 2, The Excavations of the "City Wall.")

After removing the layer of stones we did find considerable remains of buildings inside the "city wall," although of secondary importance. There was nothing from earlier periods, everything was from Byzantine-Arab times, ending with the Arab Middle Ages, while, however, the finding of a number of sherds of Roman pottery suggested that the foundation might date back to Roman times. But there was nothing from the Iron Age, earlier than the period about the birth of Christ. The latest remains of houses dated from the Arab Middle Ages, somewhat later than the year 1000 (potsherds showing Persian characteristics in House C, cf. Fig. 45). This corresponded to the fact that the upper courses of the "city wall" date from Roman times at the very earliest; in the second course from above we found a stone cut in profile. In the South, Room I contains a great double cistern. The rest is partly houses, partly courtyards lying in between. In the most spacious room, H, next to the wall, there lay to SE a stone roller, 0.48 m in length, presumably for the treatment of clay roofs; to NE was cut a cavity for a wine or oil-press, with a beautiful little accumulating cistern, the lid of which was formed by a single cylindrical stone, cut with grooves. In this room we followed the rock westwards to its end, and it proved to be sloping down very steeply towards the "city wall," with various cavities all of which were of secondary importance.

In fact, we did not find inside the "city-wall" potsherds or anything else from periods earlier than Roman times.

The ground outside, West of the "city wall," sloped outwards, until another steep fall began about 11 metres from the base of the wall. Numerous larger and smaller stones were partially visible in the surface, covered by a thin layer of earth of 15 to 30 cm, with only a little earth between them. They appeared more

like scattered stones without any discernible order, and we were most inclined to regard it as a sort of glacis in front of the city wall. The finds in the surface did not give much information. There were found some coins from the times of Justinian and Justin I, but also a coin from the time of Herod Agrippa. A removal of earth and stones was, however, made, and we unearthed a small earthen vessel, of Iron Age I (Fig. 4), and large fragments of other vessels from the same period (Fig. 3), namely:

(175a). The larger part of a smallish amphora with two handles and long, narrow neck, and nearly egg-shaped. Height now 0.44, or 0.48 to 0.50 m; a narrow, nearly triangular brim on mouth, with rather thin sides. The outside seems to be smeared with a thin grout. On the border there seems to be a large cross.

(175c). Smallish amphora with two handles, nearly egg-shaped, with long neck and narrow mouth, narrow, triangular brim on mouth; with pointed base, yet with a flat bottom of 3 cm, worn. Rough handle, strengthened at its base, worn. H. 0.55 m. In most places with thin sides. The mass of clay contained pebbles from which the clay has now sprung away. About $\frac{2}{3}$ of the vessel is left. The edge is drawn out a little on one side to pour out the contents.

(175c). Lower part of a similar vessel. Rounded at the base, without any flat bottom. Rough surface with some white stones. Seems to have been smeared with grout. On this there are 3 punctures of about 0.5 cm.

(175b). Fig. 4. Small vessel, related to earthen vessels of the Bronze Age, with two ear handles with perforation, grey, slightly reddish clay. Complete and quite intact. H. 0.08 m.

We did not succeed in finding the limits of the house(s) to which these vessels belonged but it is evident that they stood very near to their original place. Obviously this ground was of very great importance.

On a continued clearing the mouth of a large earthen vessel of Iron Age character became visible. It seemed to be whole and intact,



Fig. 4.

P_{yx} 10



Fig. 3. Earthen Vessels found in front (West) of the City Wall

J 76
J 121

and this was actually the case.

From the position of this vessel it was possible to find with full certainty the South wall of a house (Pl. II, A) about 3 metres in breadth and we were able to find the nearest part of the East wall, but it proved impossible to locate the West wall with certainty, nor was this possible in the case of the northern wall. The West wall cannot, however, have had a course much different from that indicated in Pl. II. The floor was determined with certainty by the potsherds strewn on it; there lay also here a narrow, elongated quern-stone, L. 0.34, Br. 0.10, Th. 0.062 m.

The room was presumably more than 3.10 metres broad, and its length, from North to South, more than 4 metres. The stones shown in Fig. 2 in the North-East were taken to denote a "*tannûr*." This is, however, hardly correct.

The South wall was standing to a height of 1.25 m and a thickness of 0.50 m, homogeneous and regular all through (cf. Fig. 5), with a vertical outside and the inside sloping slightly inwards; the stones were generally about 0.15 m, none of them being shaped. They were simply piled on each other, with earth between them. But still the wall was of a rather solid character; and it was easily distinguished from the stone slide that had fallen down on both sides.

The floor was of solid earth. Although the layers immediately above it were of somewhat similar blend, the level of it is certain, being further determined by the potsherds, etc., on it.

On the floor we found the following six large amphora-shaped earthen vessels:

Vessel 1. The vessel is now in the Palestine Museum, Jerusalem. Its shape and partially its size—H. ca. 1 metre, rim 0.23 metre broad—are shown on Fig. 6, which was taken at the excavation.¹

The vessel is practically whole and complete. One handle was broken and the side on the East (not visible in the

¹ Not until after my departure from Jerusalem was it finally decided that only one of the vessels should go to the Palestine Museum, the others finding their place in the National Museum, Copenhagen. The unearthing of them therefore was postponed and later made by Dr. AAGE SCHMIDT. As to the uncovering he has given the notes on which the following statement is based. The vessels were put together and restored in the laboratory of the National Museum. The observations made there are inserted in the account.

Fig. 3. House A, looking N.-W. On the floor earthen vessels and, to the front, a quern stone





Fig. 6. House A. Earthen Vessels being unearthed ; from the North

Phot. AAGE SCHMIDT

picture) depressed a little. A stone had passed partly through the side into the vessel. On top within was ordinary loose earth, a few very small stones, 2 small hard-burnt bits of clay, a fragment of a clay tile, 0.07 metre long, and 2 stones, 18 by 15 and 15 by 10 cm. About 0.5 m above the level of the base (under the loose earth) a very rough but solid surface with charcoal was found. Below this was a mass of clay apparently composed of sundried brick partially dissolved. All this is interpreted by Dr. Schmidt to mean that the clay at the bottom originates from the brick wall which continued the South wall upwards. Near the bottom of the vessel some very dark sections ("remains of the burnt roof?") were found. On examination at Jerusalem by Dr. Mayer a horizontal streak appeared inside the vessel, half-way down, probably originating from the contents of the vessel, the sides showing different chemical influences above and below this line. That the room in which the vessel was found had been destroyed by fire, we had already known. The existence of this streak suggested that the contents had been wine, and not oil, which would have caught fire. If it had been corn, it would

no doubt have been possible to find burnt grains. It should be added that on examination of the other vessels at the laboratory no traces of the contents were to be found. The pointed base of the vessel went 2 or 3 cm down into the floor.



Z135

Fig. 7. House A. Earthen Vessel 2 (176²)

Vessel 2. Traces of broken tiles were found also between Vessels 1 and 2, changed into gravel just as near the bottom of Vessel 2 (176²), Fig. 7. At the bottom of this vessel there was something

black, which could hardly originate from its contents; above this there was clay, burnt red, up to 15 cm above the bottom. The vessel is of a similar shape to that of Vessel 1 and has been reconstructed practically like the latter. H. 1.08 m. On the upper part there are traces of fire which had caused a little irregu-



Fig. 8. House A. Earthen Vessel 3 (176^b)

Z109?

larity in its present shape. The mouth is folded over (and thus has an inner hollow); short neck; below this is a distinctly pared-off ribbon in low relief, shaped from the clay itself and not laid on. Small

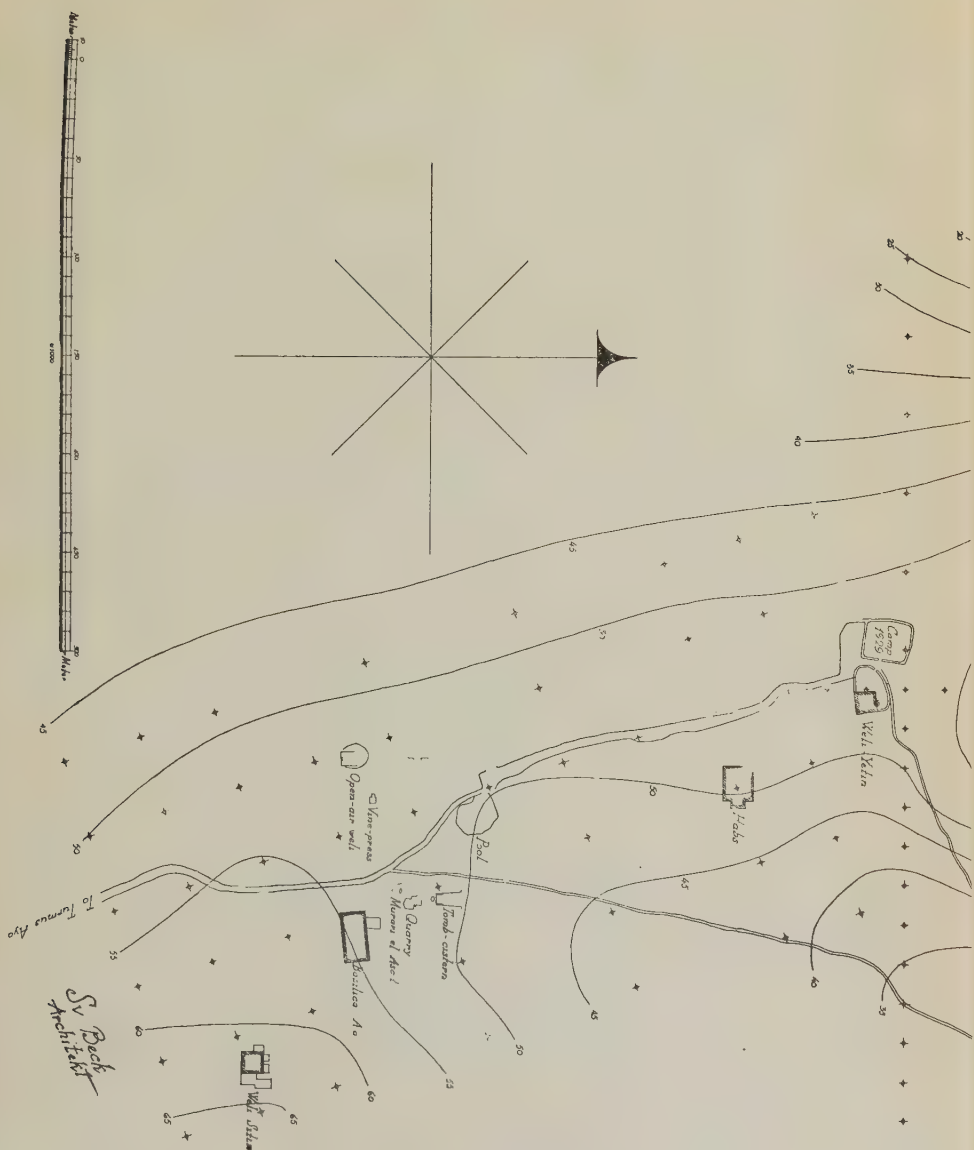
base, 3.5 centimetres broad. The surface is of varying grey and reddishbrown. The vessel seems to be stroked with thin, fine grout.

Vessel 3. Fig. 8. H. 1.10 m. In the surface there are numerous small pits with small white stones at the bottom, visible because the clay above them has sprung off. Thus the surface looks as if pitted with the smallpox. The vessel has a small flat bottom, 1.5 cm. At the brim there are 3 distinctly stamped circles, very close to each other.

At an early stage Vessels 3 and 4 were partially crushed by a stone, different from those in the South wall. Inside Vessel 3 there was, immediately below the neck, a lump of clay at 10 cm; inside the vessel were quite a few traces of fire. On fragments of pottery from the lower parts of the vessel there was charcoal on the outside, up to 1 cm square. We also found some light grey ashes and at the bottom greyish-brown "dregs."

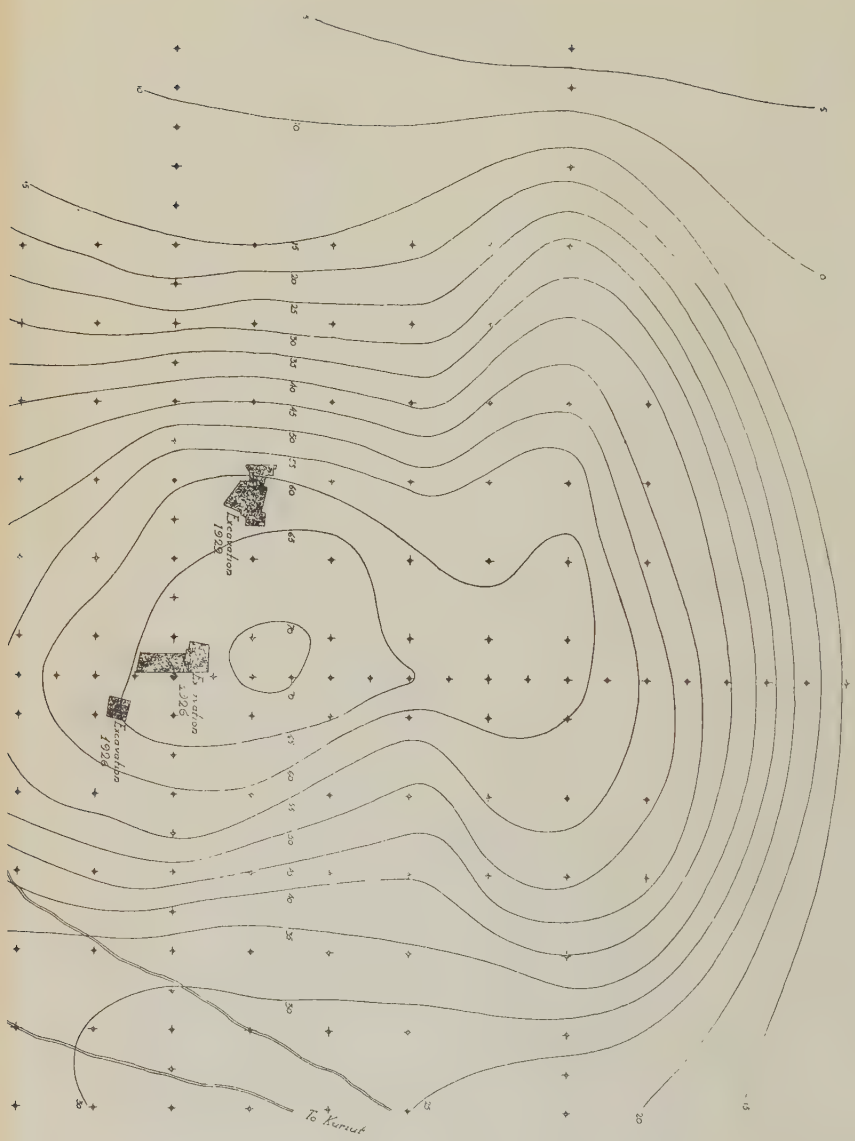
Vessel 4. In the South-West corner of the house. The same shape and general character as the preceding ones. H. 1.11 m. Base bluntly pointed. On the upper part a flat depression, which is due to fire. There are also several corrosions due to exterior influences, and a little defect at the edge of the mouth, nearly half of which is preserved. Inside are lumps of burnt clay of a limy character. At the uncovering a black layer was observed and above that a red-burnt one. The layer of loose earth reached nearly to the bottom. Thus the vessel seems to have stood free and unprotected for some short time. Its base went down into the floor about 10 centimetres. In the débris there was a piece of a tile, 10 by 20 centimetres.—These 4 earthen vessels stood slightly leaning against the South wall of House A, almost upright.

Vessel 5. At the East wall, close to vessel 1. Shape and all essential conditions like those of the preceding ones. H. 1.06 m, with a flat bottom of 4 cm. The side is of a very unequal thickness, at the bottom about 2 cm, upwards 1 cm. The vessel shows very distinct traces of fire; the upper part has lost some of its original shape, even on the lower part there are traces of fire, the lowest 0.35 m above the bottom. The observations at the uncovering show conditions similar to those of the preceding earthen vessels.



Shilo 1929
Tell Ushara

PLAN I. CONTOUR MAP
Wadi Ushara



Here, too, we observed charcoal at the bottom. Between the vessel and the wall we found 2 small coarse earthen vessels. The sherds of these 5 earthen vessels lay essentially together.

Vessel 6. The vessel lay spread over the floor, crushed. H. 1.12 m. It has been pieced together completely from top to bottom (cf. Fig. 9), but has some defects, for the filling of which, however, there is a sufficient number of unmatched sherds. Also this vessel



Z76

Fig. 9, Vessel 6 (176°), H. 1.12 m

was whole when the house was destroyed. Its place was probably near Vessels 1 and 5. Charcoal and thin layers of a dark colour seem to have lain on the floor, before the vessel was upset and crushed. One feels tempted to presume that the roof of House A came down partly before the time when the East wall of the neighbour-

ing house to the East fell and crushed Vessel 6. There is a possibility that House A and the one next to it had in common that wall near which the vessels in Fig. 3 were found.

In the middle of the floor there lay also a small quern-stone (cf. Fig. 5), the grinding surface turned downward.

We did not reach the North wall of the house. There are here fallen layers of varied character and difficult to understand. I thought it better to postpone the excavations at this point. According to later discoveries and information received from Dr. Schmidt concerning detailed observations later in the year 1929 these layers probably contain fallen, burnt fragments of the upper part of the wall. The latter presumably was made of bricks. Walls of this kind, with a base of stone and the upper part of brick, have, in fact, been found before, e. g. in Jericho (SELLIN-WATZINGER, *Jericho*, pp. 36 ff.).

The interior of House A was found to be full of earth and stones right down to the floor, some of the latter being quite big, up to 0.5 m, most of them smaller. In volume the stones made up more than half. The lower two thirds of the earth between the stones were reddish everywhere, but on top the earth was of a dark colour in the North, while in the South it continued to be of the same character nearly to the top of the wall, with small hard bits that looked like mortar. Close to Vessel 1 (176¹) we observed clay. In the earth we saw traces of ashes, although in small quantities, and a little above the floor small pieces of charcoal.

The greater part of the mass which filled up the inside of the house seems to have got there at much the same time. Apart from the layers on the surface we only found potsherds which may date from pretty nearly the same time as the large store-vessels. The house may have fallen at the time of the catastrophe itself, but there seems to be no distinct evidence on this point. At all events the house can only have stood as a partly collapsed ruin for a very short time. That the collapse could take place without the large earthen vessel being completely crushed is one of the inexplicable pieces of good luck that meet the archaeologist now and then.

The entrance to House A was no doubt in the North. It will be uncovered as the investigations continue. But we shall

hardly succeed in finding more remains of the house East of House A. This house came near to being destroyed to its very bottom. This is mainly due to the higher situation of the house.

The general chronology of House A is given through the large store-vessels as *Iron Age I*. The beginning of the Iron Age being generally fixed at about 1200 (Cf. also CHR. BLINKENBERG, *Le pays natal du fer*, Mém. d. Antiquaires du Nord, 1920-25, p. 191), it may with perfect justice be termed *Early Israelite*. Professor W. F. Albright (in the *Bull. of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 35, Oct., 1929, p. 4) dates this house back to the 11th cent. B.C. The earthen vessel, Fig. 4, from the house farther East, which reproduces a late Bronze Age type (*Bull. Palest. Mus.*, 3, 1926, Pl. VII, Fig. 6), also seems to corroborate this view. House A was destroyed by a *catastrophe involving fire*. The traces of the fire, partly in the débris inside the house, and partly from the large earthen vessels themselves, have already been mentioned.

The absence of potsherds of transition type from the 10th cent., from Iron Age I to II, forms the basis of a closer determination of the time of the catastrophe which befell the Early Israelite house and which presumably also befell the whole town of Shiloh. W. F. Albright, *l.c.*, says: "There can no longer be any doubt that the occupation was interrupted somewhere in the eleventh century B.C., so that the generally accepted view, that Shiloh was destroyed by the Philistines about 1050 B.C., after the first battle of Ebenezer, is confirmed."

Then the question arises, from which period the "city wall" may date. It is a fact that it dates from a later period than the houses on the ground lying in front of it to the West, House A and others. For it proved to be built on the remains of houses from the same period as these.

Before the excavation, the four upper courses of stones were visible to a length of 15 metres, running regularly and consisting chiefly of fairly well cut stones, the two upper courses of which were largest, with smaller stones in the spaces between them. The lower part was covered with earth and stones from the "glacis" in front of it. By means of soundings near the projecting "bastion" to the South this lower part was proved to be about 1 m in height and to be made of smaller stones in regular courses. It was not carried down

to rock, but was laid on the remains of older houses. Near the base of the wall, almost beneath it, there still stood a large amphora, only partially crushed, of exactly the same type as the vessels in House A, as shown in Fig. 10. Fig. 11 shows this vessel (173c) reconstructed.

The amphora is 1.05 m high, with a reddish-grey surface inside and outside and rounded base. Of the upper part only half is left.

Further there were about 33 sherds of other large earthen vessels. Nearly in front of the vessel we saw on the ground a strip of ashes, about 3 centimetres thick, and about 0.5 m long.

We also took a sounding at the base of the wall about 13 metres more to the north, again at the outside. We uncovered sherds of several earthen vessels, a medley of small and large vessels, chiefly from Iron Age I, with some later sherds. Four sherds with handles were from large amphoras.

The above seems to fix a *tempus post quod*. The wall is later than the time of the catastrophe that befell the old town at about 1050 B.C. But it is by no means certain that the sherds from Iron Age I before the base of the wall give its chronology. The base of the wall may have been dug down into the old layers accumulated through long periods.

To arrive at a closer determination of the time from which the "city wall" dates, I think the following facts must be taken into consideration:

Its upper courses, which contained a stone that was cut with a groove, no doubt date from Roman times, or at least were repaired in this period. Inside the wall nothing earlier than Roman times was found.

Of the whole number of potsherds found West of the wall, on the site of the old remains of houses, all of which Professor Albright kindly examined, the greater part were found to date from Iron Age I. There was exceedingly little from Iron Age II. Only from Iron Age III, the Hellenistic Period, there were again some sherds, but the great majority were brought to light at one single place, Pl. II, South-West of Room B.



Fig. 10. Detail of City Wall, lowest part. Near the base, almost beneath it, is a crushed amphora, Fig. 11; see p. 106.



Z109?

Fig. 11. Vessel near, almost beneath, the City Wall (reconstructed). H. 1.05 m.
(Cf. Fig. 10.)

Thus, in spite of the seemingly close relation between the "city wall" and the remains of houses from Iron Age I, it appears most probable that the wall dates from a relatively late period. After the catastrophe about 1050 B.C. the place remained deserted for a long time, for several centuries, in fact. Not till centuries later was a new protective wall built, and for reasons difficult to understand, the boundaries of the town were moved inwards, here at any rate. Possibly the inhabitants of the town feared to place the city wall too close to the steep descent only about 11 metres from its base.

The above account would seem to involve a full corroboration of the tradition in the Old Testament. If, after the destruction in about 1050 B.C., Shiloh lay practically deserted for centuries, we here have a strong corroboration of the well known passage in Jeremiah in which Yahweh says: "But go ye now unto my place which was in Shiloh, where I set my name at the first, and see what I did to it for the wickedness of my people Israel."

HELLENISTIC SHILOH

That, in Hellenistic times, Shiloh held again a considerable settlement is evident from the results of our investigations in 1926 (*Quarterly Statement*, 1927.)

It will be seen from Pl. II that West of House A (and Room B which will be mentioned presently) is a rather large number of scattered stones. There are two different rows of rather large stones, most of them $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{2}{3}$ m in diameter. It seems that beneath the larger stones shown in Pl. II there lies only an irregular heap of stones to a depth of about 1 m. The potsherds found here, West of the stones, were much mixed, and mostly of a late character. One stone *may* be squarely cut. About 1 m beneath the surface was found a coin of Claudius Gothicus, 268-70 A.D. Judged from this evidence and from conditions as a whole, this mass of stones in its present shape can hardly be very old. It cannot be denied that in this pile of stones there may be remains of a city wall older than, or dating from, Iron Age I. But it is also possible that, in its latest shape, it is only a strengthening of the ground outside House A. At any rate, the two rows of larger stones can hardly date from the same period.

Immediately South of the southern wall of House A a room, B, (Pl. II) was brought to light, which was interpreted as part of an older house, into which House A had been built, so that consequently only part of this older house would be left now. The débris in this room consisted mainly of larger and smaller stones. Among the stones we found things of very varied character. In the upper part there were late potsherds, and other objects, i. e. a Roman draughtsman and fragments of glass. But in the lower part were numerous potsherds which, in Professor Albright's judgment, date from the Middle Bronze Age, 1600--1400 B.C., amongst others bottoms from two vessels with pointed bases (cf. *Palestine Mus. Bull.*, 3, Pl. IX, 7); further a small lump of bronze, raw, without any definite shape, 0.03 by 0.022 m, and 2 fragments of old leaf-shaped lamps, one of them very large; a piece cut off of a large flint flake; the potsherds are "unmatched sherds," out of which larger parts cannot be pieced together, which, however, no doubt lie in their original place; they might have been thrown out at an early period. Specimens of the sherds are shown in Fig. 11a.

There can be no doubt that all this gives evidence of a settlement earlier than House A, which is determined with full certainty as Early Israelite. This house A was destroyed about 1050 B.C. But when was it built? Does it date as far back as the early part of the Late Bronze Age, 1600--1400, and if so, is it Israelite or Canaanite? The material hitherto available is not in my opinion sufficient to allow of further conclusions. The principal task of future investigations will be to follow up the outline of the occupation from Iron Age I shown at House A. On the whole northern side of Tell Seilûn there are no remains of houses from Arab times to be seen. But on the surface there are numerous potsherds from Iron Age I. Most likely the (Israelite) settlement is here continued in an East--West zone. These remains of houses now lie beneath the surface. But there is a chance of very important, even decisive finds, as we may suppose that the ruins of the town which was destroyed about 1050 remained in front of the later city wall. Soundings were made which seem to corroborate this view. Then the question arises whether the houses here too will be found to stand directly on the rock. Here we shall be able to find decisive criteria for the chronology of the Israelite occupation in this place, and hence



Fig. 11a. Potsherds from Room B, Middle Bronze Age.

for the immigration on the whole. It seems that the later city wall can be traced in fragments to the northern side of the city hill and that everywhere it shows the characteristics stated. Also a city gate seems to be partially preserved. Farther to the East stands a fragment of a wall which seems rather to be of Bronze Age character, i. e. it may be taken as evidence for fortification earlier than If. A.I. Also South-East of the part of the city wall examined in 1929 there are remains that seem to belong to the same city wall. The whole situation seems promising for continued investigations. For a final solution of the extremely important questions before us, our investigations in 1929 do not suffice. It seems to be a random sample of high value, but better fitted for raising questions in a concise form than for giving the final solution.¹

MUGHARET EL-ASAD

The second result of the investigations was the uncovering of Christian Shiloh. But meantime an important and characteristic find was made in the excavation of a rock cave which was a priori supposed to be "only" a rock tomb from Early Israelite times.

The Arabs called this cave "Mughâreh" or more fully "Mughâret el-Asad" or "el-Abd." Its site is seen in Plan I at the edge of the plain where it slopes towards the North-East, South of Tell Seilûn, about 260 to 270 metres South-South-East of the foot of the city hill, only 20 metres from the "Pilgrim's Church" mentioned in detail below.

As to the name the Arabs could say but little. Some of them thought it must be the name of an owner in olden times, others, that it was the name of a powerful demon who was the master of the cave. At any rate they have great respect for the place. If a man hides his plough in the cave for the night he may be sure to find it again in the morning; for nobody dares to steal it from this place. (There was actually a plough lying in it before we began the examination.) Some of the Arabs claimed to have heard that in former times bodies of murdered people were thrown here. Thus tradition was somewhat vague but it had not been quite forgotten that there was something special about this place.

¹ On the Madaba mosaic map [C7] $\lambda\omega \epsilon\upsilon(\theta)\alpha \omega \eta \chi\epsilon\beta\omega\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ is situated to the East of Neapolis, on the real site of Shechem! Shechem is mistakenly placed to the South of Mount Gerizim.

Professor Johs. Pedersen, Ph. D., has kindly informed me that the correct transcription of the name is as above, *mughâret el-asad*, 'the cave of the lion,' or with the second name *mughâret el-'abd*. The word *'abd* means literally "slave," but, corresponding to actual practice and to European conditions, it may in most cases correctly be rendered "servant," especially when used with reference to the name of Yahveh.¹ The entrance to the cave was rather narrow, but the cave itself was very roomy. The entrance was on the North side, nearly level with the ceiling of the cave, and sloped downwards; it was rather low but relatively wide, 0.8 by 2.0 metres. As the interior was about 4 metres high (deep), the cave in its original shape was almost inaccessible. When found, the cavity was almost filled with earth, yet it was possible to walk about the cave only slightly bent. Some quite large stones were seen in the earth which filled the room.

On examination it proved to be a rock cave, deep as well as spacious, roughly circular in shape, about 6.2 by 7.0 metres in size, yet measuring a little less near the bottom, as the sides narrowed downwards from the middle. In the North side we saw incisions that might be due to human hands, but the rock was brittle and decayed, so that there may well have been further shaping which cannot longer be traced. The floor was rather smooth, although sloping northwards; the ceiling formed a natural vault, only slightly arched, and showed traces of rock having fallen.

Originally, no doubt, the cave was a cistern. At the bottom we found remains of plaster on the walls, which according to its composition seemed to date from Roman or earlier times. The room was filled with earth more than half-way up and apparently free from stones in the front part, as appeared on our digging downwards; farther in, both on the surface and beneath, were larger stones, most of which no doubt originated from the caving in of the rock; but we also saw a few cut blocks that must have tumbled down through the entrance. The great mass of the earth must have been carried in on purpose, even if some may have been

¹ Dr. Aage Schmidt has advanced the theory that the word *'abd* may preserve a tradition that dates as far back as Christian times. The field in which the cave lies, is called "the Field of the Servant." As the field lies close to the "Pilgrim's Church," the "servant" might be the sacristan of this church.

washed in by heavy showers of rain; however, this can hardly be true of any important part of it, the ground sloping away from the mouth of the cave, and the opening itself being nearly vertical.

About 2 metres below the sill of the entrance and almost exactly beneath the opening, appeared the top of an extensive, slightly arched heap of human bones, about 1.25 m at the top and broadening downwards to 2.5 — 5.0 metres at the bottom of the cave. Fig. 12 shows the top of this heap of bones. On the whole the



Fig. 12. Human Bones in Mughâret el-'Abd.

bones looked well preserved, although, from the testimony of the antiquities found among them, they had been lying in the place for more than a thousand years covered only by layers of earth, which, it is true, mostly were as deep as one metre. There was not much difference in the preservation of the upper and the lower strata. From the evidence of the antiquities, however, at least 2 centuries must have passed between the time when the earliest and

the latest human bones were placed here. It may be considered as proved beyond doubt that they did not get into the cave at the same time.

The bones were lying in complete disorder. It was hardly possible to find more than two bones at the very most lying in the right connection to each other, and even that was rare. The long bones from the upper and lower extremities were found sometimes in a fairly horizontal position, sometimes aslope; several femurs lay quite on top; but only a single cranium was seen, in the centre, somewhat buried in the heap of bones, so that only the top could be seen. This cranium had its face turned towards the south and inside of the cave, the crown of the head upwards, but later examinations proved this to be merely accidental. The bones of the deeper layer were discovered lying in the most varying positions. Hardly any joints were found in their natural connections. It deserves mentioning, however, that in the case of two of the craniums from the deeper layers, the lower jaws were found in connection with the craniums. But elsewhere a lower jaw lay in the reverse of the natural position, that is, severed from the cranium before deposition. Fractured bones were found with the pieces in the wrong relation to each other. It must be mentioned that all of the craniums seem to have been complete at the time of deposition although most of them were without the lower jaw. The bones were but very little fractured; the deposition in the cave seems, then, to have taken place with a certain amount of care. There were parts of skeletons of adults and children; among other pieces a femur, 0.18 m long, was found, without doubt that of a child. Strange to say, the decomposition became a little greater in the lower deposit than on top. There were some fractures, it is true, but they may have been due to the pressure of the earth. All parts of the human body were present, and apparently in the proper numerical proportion. This has been tested with regard to the cranium, humerus, femur, tibia, radius, and heelbone. Several bones from the hands and feet were also found. Reckoning from the number of femurs, heel-bones and craniums, which in the main corresponded to each other and generally were in the best state of preservation, it seems that the sum total of individuals was 40 at least, of which three or four were children. No trace was found anywhere of direct injury suffered by the individuals while living.

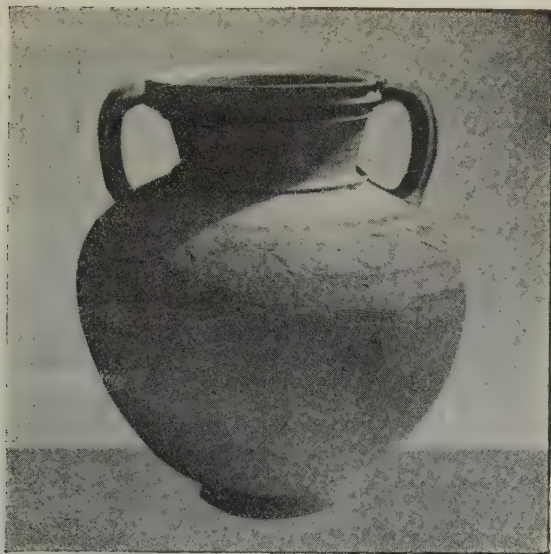
That the parts of skeletons should be taken as evidence of a massacre seems thus out of the question. The idea which might seem very likely, to establish a connection between the discovery and the Arab tradition, that the neighbouring *Jâmi' es-Sittîn* ("mosque of the sixty") should have been so called in memory of a massacre of sixty Christians, thus cannot be justified, or, rather, it is entirely without justification.



P. 117

Fig. 13. Arabic Vessel (170).

The discoveries, furthermore, show that the use of the cave for the deposition of skeletons was anterior to the Arab tradition. The deposition seems to have taken place in two periods. The top layer containing parts of skeletons of at least eleven adults and one child was separated by a layer of earth from the lower part of the heap.



p. 118

Fig. 14. Byzantine Amphora (in the Palestine Museum, Jerusalem)

Among the bones was found not a little earth, chiefly fine mould, and in this earth was discovered a great quantity of potsherds of earthen vessels, and a number of whole vessels together with a lot of animal bones, and some antiquities of various kinds. Two of the unbroken earthen vessels were found quite on top, namely:

An Arab vessel, fig. 13 (in the Palestine Museum, Jerusalem), number 170.¹ The vessel is from the later Arab Middle Ages. It has an almost spherical body, four handles, and erect neck widening slightly at the top ("Ramallah type"); it is 0.36 m high, the width at the middle is 0.30 m, and at the mouth 0.165 m; brown paint in compartments with intermediary lines.

¹ The objects from this spot are numbered 170, a—g, downwards.

A beautiful amphora of reddish yellow clay, its globular body widest towards the top, with two handles and an erect brim, at the top widening slightly; under the brim two narrow mouldings, a third at the base; profiled handles; five-stringed stripes made by means of a comb, encircling the vessel at the top and at the bottom; two intertwined undulating lines 0.31 m high (Fig. 14).

A quite similar Byzantine vessel, No. 170 d, 4, Fig. 15, 0.31 m high; the brim sharply levelled. The lower part flat and round; ribbed.



P 118

Fig. 15. Amphora from Cave (170, d, 4.)

Below the mouth and on the upper part comb stripes, up to five lines; circular, partly irregular, undulating lines. The vessel is in the main complete, put together from several sherds. The handles are incomplete.

Furthermore the following earthen vessels, in the main complete, were found:

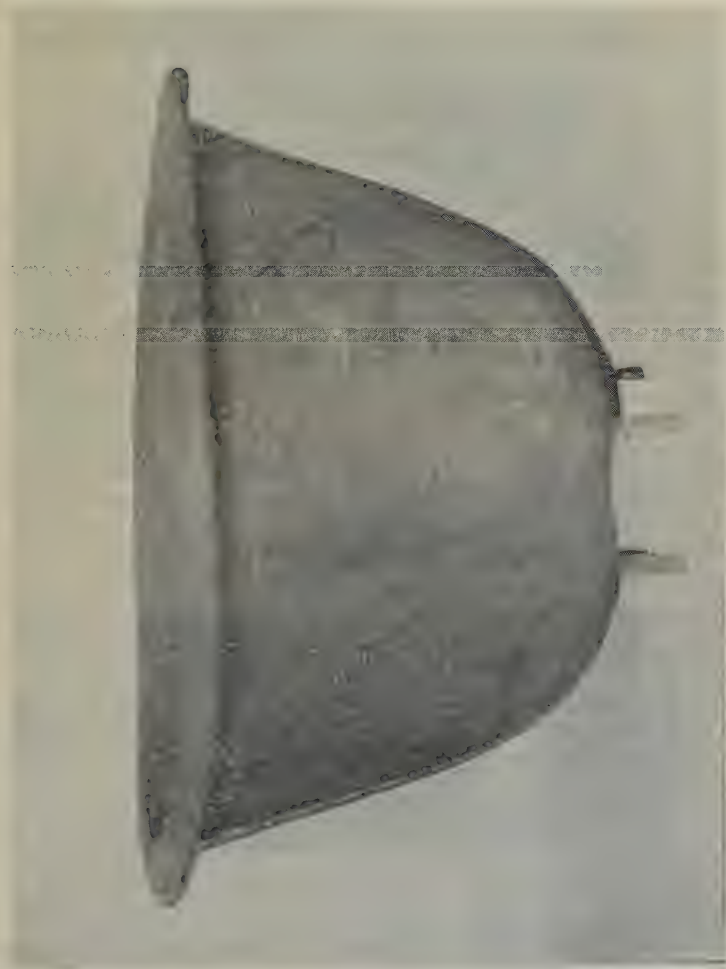


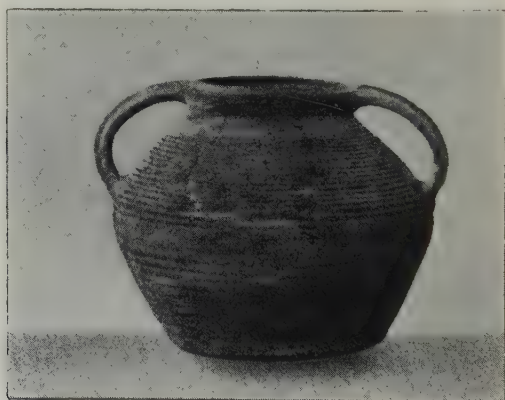
Fig. 16. Large Bow from Cave

1027

A big, open bowl, Fig. 16, No. 170, a, 5, shaped somewhat like a pail (widening towards the top); made of yellow clay; the height without the bottom, which is missing, 0.26 m: diametre at the top, 0.48 m on the outside, 0.403 m on the inside; ornamented with narrow comb stripes, (2-3 lines) partly circular, partly in an irregular undulating line. The bottom of the vessel was not in the cave.

Earthen vessels, older than the Byzantine epoch

Two-handled vessels (example in Fig. 17, No. 170 d. 1); dark-red clay; rather sharp-bellied, the sharply cut brim bent inwards; 0.17 m high, width at the middle 0.2 m; the handles sharply shaped; the upper part more finely, the lower more coarsely ribbed, the bottom finely ribbed; complete and well preserved vessel (Pal. Mus). Earthen vessel like the above-mentioned; Fig. 17 f. 1.; somewhat smaller and the handles simpler; in the main complete, only one handle incomplete.



P 2.

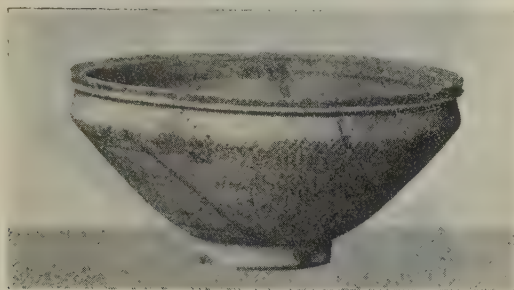
Fig. 17. Roman Vessel from Cave

Bowl (Fig. 18) made of greyish clay with small white spots, profiled brim, small ring-stem; 0.24 m high, ornamented like that in *Annual of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1923-25, Pl. XX, 4; 0.117 m high; 0.242 m in diameter; put together from sherds, but now in the main complete.

Bowl like the above mentioned and also put together from potsherds, slightly incomplete (Palestine Museum.)

Other earthen vessels

Small, round-bellied bowl, with thin walls, slightly reddish, slightly bent in at the top, 0.54 m high, 0.147 m wide. The ex-

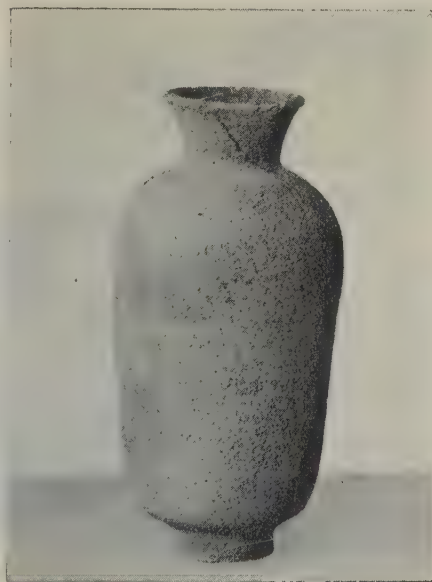


P. 120

Fig. 18. Bowl from cave

terior ornamented like the preceding vessels. About three fourths of the bowl have been found.

Lekythos, Fig. 19; of simple shape, made of grey clay; on the surface slightly ribbed, with a small, flat bottom; the brim is a bit damaged, otherwise complete; the side indented in the process of firing. A small cup with thin walls, made of yellowish-grey clay, widest towards the base, Fig. 19 (No. 170, g, 2); with a small, turned stem, 0.07 m high. About two thirds have been found.



P. 121

Fig. 19. Lekythos from Cave

Parts of a sieve-shaped vessel, Fig. 20 (170, e); made of yellowish-red clay, the side open-work, imitation of simple woodcarving, the bottom sieve-shaped; chiefly oval figures and triangles. The depicted fragment is 0.115 m by 0.155 m; the bottom 0.08 m wide; seems to have the upper part bent in. Pitcher,



Fig. 20. Part of Cup from Cave
p. 121

Fig. 21; No. 170 e, of yellowish clay, with almost perpendicular sides, sharply rounded towards a very small bottom. The mouth is



Fig. 21. Pitcher from Cave (170 e)
p. 122

funnel shaped, the exterior and the handle profiled; restored in ancient times; 0.20 m high, 0.175 m wide, at the brim 0.075 m; pieced together, but almost complete.

Pitcher essentially like the above-mentioned (170 d 2); round-bellied, 0.235 m high; the main part of the mouth missing, otherwise complete; several small dents received in the process of firing.

The older Roman potsherds and vessels were found chiefly at the bottom or at the extreme sides, where they may have fallen from the top of the bone-heap. All the Roman potsherds, so to speak, were from finely ribbed vessels with two handles, as in Fig. 17. Of this type 87 earthen vessels, at least, were represented, as 174 handles were counted.

The vessels from the Byzantine period belonged in the main to four types: large amphoras, Figs. 14-15, pail-shaped vessels, narrow at the bottom and widening upwards, the biggest, Fig. 16, together with bowls like Fig. 18, simple lekythoi; the rest, smaller earthen vessels of various shapes. The amphoras were finely shaped vessels, all of them meant for use, however; some had scratched ornaments, but none were painted. The vessels were mostly ribbed, generally with broad rounded ribs, but also flat-ribbed ones were found. Otherwise the most common ornament was stripes, generally narrow and in waves, produced by means of a comb. The vessels were in the main very good ones.

Other Objects Found in Cave

About three fourths of a stone mortar, 4 thick supports carved in the same stone, 0.22 m broad. Two needles of bone, made from a very compact material (ivory?).

About 75 fragments of greenish, iridescent glass, some of which were rather large. For the greater part they were from small, round-bellied bowls, or from flat plate-shaped bowls, some few from a vessel with bottle-shaped neck. Altogether there were hardly more than half a dozen glass vessels and in no case was the greater part of a vessel found. The fragments were found in levels No. 170 c-f, that is generally in the deeper layers.

The potsherds from earthen vessels were large, as a rule, so that one might with some degree of certainty say that this was their primary place. Practically no small potsherds were found in the surrounding fields. The whole bulk was very considerable, about 1.5 cu. m. Many efforts were made to put the potsherds together, so as to form whole vessels, but with rather poor results.

Not even the bottom of the very easily recognisable pail-shaped earthen vessel, Fig. 16, was found and as the little "trowel" was the only tool used while working in the bone-heap, it is fairly certain that the bottom of the vessel never was in the cave. The case is somewhat similar with regard to the flat bowls with scratched ornaments on the surface. There were fragments of several bowls of this type, but the greater part of them were in a more or less incomplete condition. The entire material was of a rather uniform character, which manifested itself also in the small number of types of vessels.

The vessels dated from the late Roman and Byzantine periods, from after the third to the fifth and sixth century A.D., and a few from a later date. One quite isolated vessel was from the Middle-Ages, however, Fig. 15. This earthen vessel lay quite on the surface of the layer to the northern side underneath the receding rock. Next to it was the finest Byzantine vessel (Fig. 14). Of larger handles suited for amphoras 240 were counted corresponding to at least 120 vessels. Of lekythoi and smaller vessels there were about 25. Altogether at least 275 vessels were represented, the Roman earthen vessels included.

That the deposit of earthen vessels on this spot took place mainly in Roman-Byzantine time is confirmed by the *coins* found. The following were discovered :

- 170d Aurelianus (270-275); in the centre of the layer.
- 170d Constans (337-350); in the centre of the layer.
- 170d one of the Constantines (306-361); in the centre of the layer.
- 170d Gratianus, Valentinianus II, or Theodosius I (375-395)
- 170c Theodosius-Valentinianus III? (379-455); nearer the surface.
- 170d Valentinianus III (425-455); in the centre of the layer.
- 170d Theodosius II (408-455); in the centre of the layer.
- 170d Theodosius II (408-455); in the centre of the layer.
- 170d four Roman imperial coins from about the 5th cent., which offered no possibilities for a more exact determination.
- 170d indeterminate.

The coins found thus confirm the general date arrived at through the earthen vessels. Most of the coins are from a time later than Constantine the Great.

Neither do the sundry small objects contradict this, as far as this period can be determined at all. There was a blue Roman piece from some board-game, 2 ornamented pins, of some hard mass of bone, possibly ivory, but all in all only a few such things were found. A lamp seemed to be the most ancient of these objects, but it was hardly older than Roman times. This lamp was entire; otherwise only a single fragment of a lamp was found, from a late period. Furthermore a little weight (stone) was dug up together with other things which may accidentally have happened to be there. It is certain of course that off and on stray things have fallen through the open mouth of the cave. Determinable charcoal was not found.

However about 175 animal bones were discovered, which were identified as follows;

Sus scrofa. Lower incisors and fangs (170 d).

Sus scrofa dom. Two teeth and two canine teeth; young specimens;

Domestic sheep and goat, domestic hen (Altogether 23 bones).

Capra hircus, goat and *ovis aries*, sheep, parts of at least three specimens of each species.

Of greater interest is the fact that we found the chief parts of two dogs and two quite young specimens of pig, *sus scrofa dom.*, respectively two and five months old. Of the dogs the one is of a larger, the other of a smaller type, judging from the lower jaw. The larger of the two was like a Greenland dog, a type of dog also known in Denmark from the time of the Vikings, 800-1000 A.D. The bones of the limbs are, however, stronger and longer than those of the Greenland dog. Practically all the bones of the two young pigs were found. These as well as the other animal bones show no traces of mistreatment, cuts or the like. Neither were there found any marks of the teeth of dogs on them. This is in absolute contrast to the other animal bones from different localities of Shiloh, on which traces of biting and slitting were plainly evident.

Should I attempt a valuation of these very peculiar discoveries at the present moment, it would very likely be something to the effect that the cave seems to have been a place where people in the Roman and early Byzantine period have deposited human bones from graves in the neighbourhood, emptied in order to make

use again of the graves and of their kokim. But certain forms of sacrifice have developed, a fact which can be concluded from the complete, or at any rate in most cases fairly complete earthen vessels; in any case the central idea of these sacrifices must have been an offering of food. The sacrifices are chiefly limited to the Roman-Byzantine period, but have as an exception continued into the Arab period, another example of the influence of tradition even through a change of religion. A strong example of the force of such a tradition can be seen in the continuation of the sanctity of the locality, which will be considered later in connection with the "Pilgrims' church."

Near the cave a smaller stone-quarry was discovered the date of which is very uncertain. It seems to have been used in rather late Arab times, however.

Of considerably greater importance are the evidences found with regard to the Christian Shiloh.

CHRISTIAN SHILOH

The greatest surprise of the excavation campaign of 1929 came to us while exploring the far-stretching ruin situated about 300 m South-South-East of the foot of the tell. The outer walls of a building were visible. As a rule only one course appeared above the surface, but on the North side several courses. On the East, part of a long wall in the centre of the ruin could be recognized, and towards the north, parts of two transverse walls. Because of the seeming correspondence between the northerly rooms thus formed and the length of the Tabernacle, the ruin has sometimes been called the "Tabernacle-House." A cistern could be seen on the West. The whole proved to be covered with a layer of earth and stone $\frac{2}{3}$ - $\frac{3}{4}$ m deep. The centre was uncultivated and filled with a low, thick growth of bramble.

As it was expected from the beginning to be of particular value, the exploration was begun on the outside along the sides of the building and at the east and west ends. It was executed solely by means of the little trowel (*mal'aga*), and the matter was divided into horizontal sections, until the rock was reached. The number of sections amounted to three or four, of about 20 cm each, except



Fig. 23. The Pilgrims' Church before the Excavation. Seen from the East

on the north, at the reservoir to be mentioned presently, where the number increased.

The outer wall was everywhere found to have been placed on the rock. Towards the west an entrance ramp was uncovered; close to the North wall on the west was a large, quadrilateral water-basin cut down into the rock; farther towards the East there was a flat basin cut in the rock, which continued in under the wall, while farther away were two deeper basins, of the nature of open cisterns or reservoirs. The water reservoir proved to be connected by a pipe with the above-mentioned cistern. Close to the West and South walls Arab graves were found. All this, however, offered no point of departure for a judgment as to the purpose of the building, nor as to the period to which it belonged. The entire outer wall was rectangular, oriented almost exactly East and West. On the outside, exclusive of the ramp, it was 25 m long and 12 m

broad. The antiquities found, especially in the reservoir, led to the supposition that the building or buildings which had last stood on the spot had perished in early Arab times and that they had been destroyed by violence. The greater part of the reservoir was filled with dressed stones from door frames, etc.

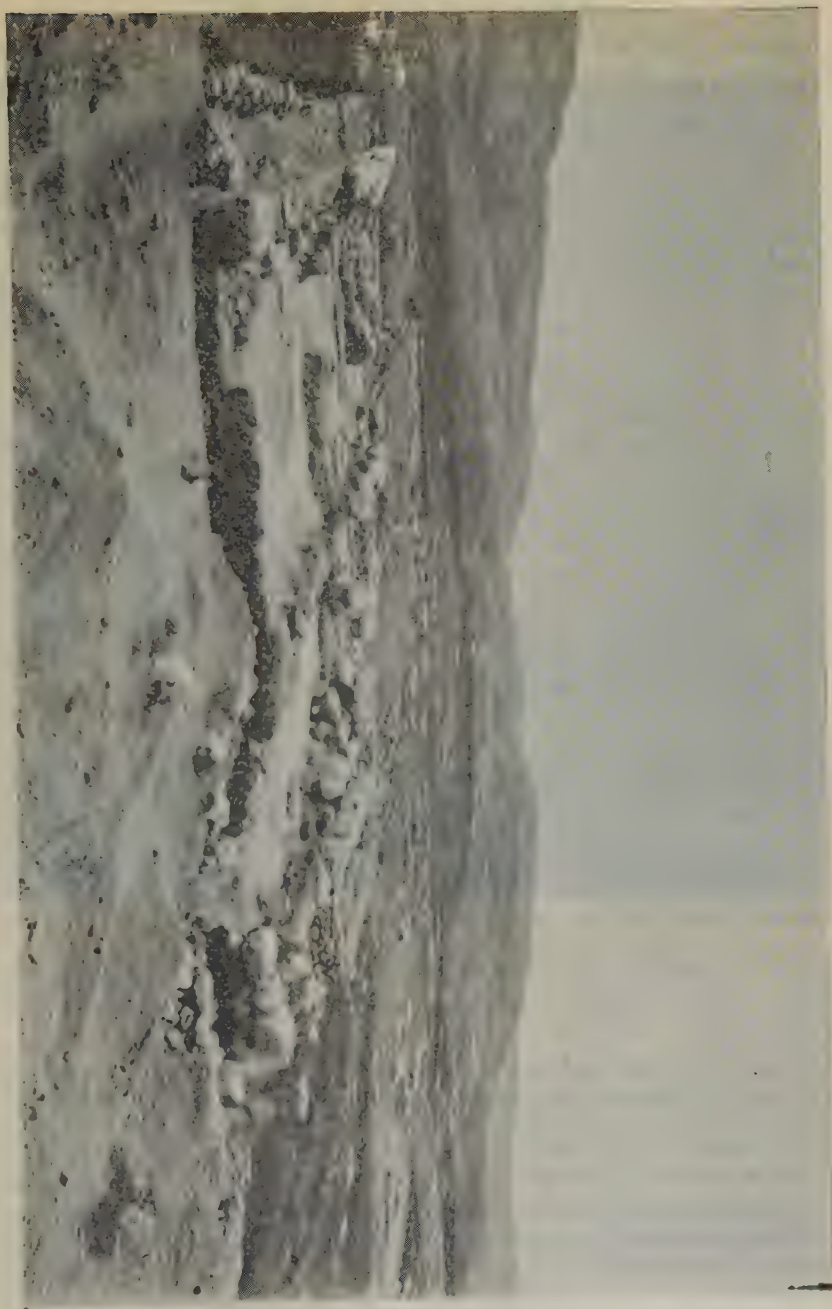
A beginning of the solution of the puzzles which this place offered was not made until the investigation was extended to the room within the outer "enceinte wall." This took place first South of the already mentioned centre wall, beginning with the eastern part. Here mosaic work was presently discovered, and even before the apse was brought to light, it became quite apparent that it was a church. This conclusion was based upon the main motifs of the mosaics, which were vines with clusters of grapes and leaves, well-known Christian symbols; but it was soon confirmed by the fact that the apse showed through the mosaic work of the floor. The chancel bar was unfortunately only partly preserved. Then the investigation was extended to the nave, which also proved to have mosaic work. Later a narthex and atrium were discovered, farther to the West, together with a little entrance hall, all with mosaic pavement, the atrium and the entrance hall without pattern, however.

Thereupon the rooms to the North of the church, discernible already before the investigation, were explored.

In Pl. III these rooms are provisionally designated as "prothesis" and "diakonikon"; without, however, ascribing to these names any interpretative value. They are to be considered as temporary designations only. In the "prothesis," which had been divided by pillars into two rooms, very important and as a rule well preserved mosaic work was found. West of the "diakonikon" there had been a number of small rooms, one of them with a tomb cut down into the rock.

How the entire ground plan appeared can best be seen from the survey made by Mr. Svend Beck, the architect (Pl. III). I should like to call attention to the fact that the plan shows north down, east to the left, west to the right. In this way the building

FIG. 24. The Philistine Church after the Excavation seen from Jami' es-Sittin. The rooms of the church proper in the foreground



presents itself best to him who might want to make use of the plan on the spot.¹

Proceeding now to a detailed treatment so far as it falls within the limits of this paper, I shall begin with a description of the building in its last, or next to last form, i. e. its form as it is at the present moment. Later a provisional treatment of the intricate problems concerning the older form, shape, and the history of the entire building will follow so far as it is possible to disentangle them at this moment. I hope that this will call forth a discussion which may prove fruitful on several points.

The nave and chancel, the south-eastern part of the whole, measure on the inside 13.5 m.² The chancel is placed a little higher than the nave; it is the highest of all the rooms of the church. It was separated from the nave by a chancel bar, the shapely, squared base stones of which in the South are in such a state of preservation that on the upperside a quadrilateral cavity can be seen, meant for a chancel post (0.21 by 0.22 m), while nearer the centre another cavity may be seen, more vague and less defined in outline, which is probably meant to receive a column. A piece of a post of correct size is to be found in the neighbouring Jâmi' es-Sittîn, and in the same place are parts of two small columns, which are probably also taken from the church; they measure 0.235-0.28 m in diameter. Between the two cavities is a groove in the stone, 10 cm broad, 4.5 cm deep. The ascent from nave to chancel consisted of two steps, the lowest 0.12 m, the upper 0.26 m. in height. We did not find the northern half of the bar.

The floor of the chancel was entirely covered by a mosaic (Fig. 25). Its northern part was quite well preserved, the southern

¹ The Department of Antiquities will most likely take measures to have the entire monument together with those nearest to it expropriated, and it will probably be the most important monument in Shiloh. At this point I want to express my infinite gratitude to the director of the Department, Mr. E. Richmond, and to Dr. L. A. Mayer for the interest with which they have followed and aided us in the work from beginning to end. Also placing it under cover - in part or completely - is being considered. Dr. Aage Schmidt has with personal sacrifices for a long period of time worked on the fastening and restoration of the mosaics, and he has also prepared the covering.

² The nave alone is 8.5 m long and 6.25 m broad.

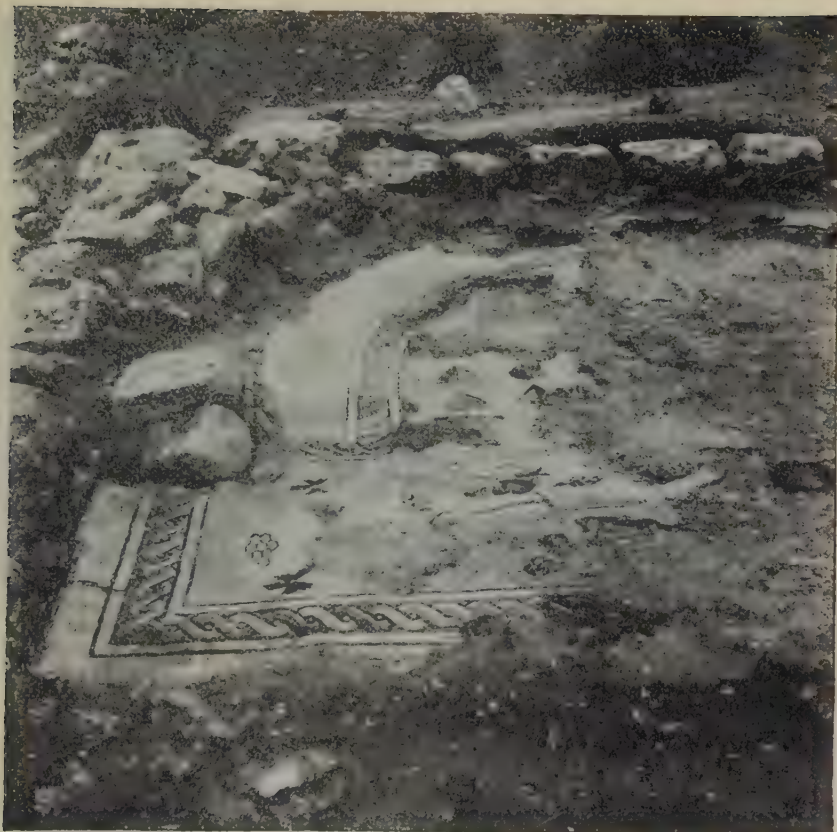


Fig. 25. Mosaic work in the chancel; northern halt

side was in a poor state of preservation. The entire composition was based on the vine, with leaves or flowers and clusters of grapes, and in the eastern part larger conventionalized leaves. The western part is rectangular with a broad twisted-rope pattern as frame. Above this the arch of the apse arises with the larger leaves. The central part is destroyed, so that it is impossible to see whether the space before the altar was covered by the mosaic. In general the mosaic work must be characterized as good, though without being exceptionally fine. The cubes are little, above 1 cm square; the colours are white, black, and red. Surrounding the ornamental

parts is a white base, broader to the East, rather narrow in the West, with a dark division line.

The nature of the walls will be discussed when I come to the nave. For the moment it is sufficient to say that in the chancel walls no well shaped, squared stones were found. The inside of the wall was in a poor state of preservation.

The nave. The entrance was in the centre, on the west, where the threshold was preserved. It was made of a single stone, 1.25 m broad. On the outside it showed cavities for door pivots, rather vague, but sure. Furthermore quadrilateral cavities could be seen, no doubt where bolts for barring were meant to fit in. The church floor was from 10 to 15 cm below the threshold. It was entirely covered with mosaic work. This mosaic work was, as might be expected, of a simple pattern, but well executed with cubes of similar size to those in the chancel. Figure 26 shows a part of this mosaic, the motif of the cross dominating the entire plan, with the frame of the well known spiral meander motif, and at the extreme end, in the broad white frame, winecups of black cubes with red cubes over a single white one to indicate the contents of the cup, the wine. On the West the border was, however, made of conventionalized, pointed leaves. Also in the entrance, which led from the so-called prothesis, similar conventionalized leaves were found, and this entrance was distinguished in a peculiar way by the use of glass in the mosaic work. Quite to the East a motif of peculiar lozenge-shaped pattern was found in the South, 0.60 m long. Nearer the centre, or in the centre there had been a figure of red cubes; but so little was preserved that it is impossible to say what is signified.¹

The walls in nave and chancel. The outer walls on the south, east, and west were in the main uniform, very thick, about 0.60 m, and of a peculiarly simple character. They were chiefly formed of a single row of fairly uniform, heavy stones, most of them ca. $1\frac{1}{2}$ - $\frac{2}{3}$ m broad with a rather even outside, while the interior face was very uneven. A sort of dressing had been attempted no doubt with the sole aim of making the sides smooth in order that the

¹ With regard to the pattern in the floor mosaic cf. among others, Clarence S. Fisher, "The Church at Beisan," *Museum Journal*, Philadelphia, 1924.



Fig. 26. Floor in the nave; south-western part.

stones could form tolerably regular courses. There was no shaping into the form of real square stones at all. On the inside smaller, undressed stones had been placed in the gaps between the big stones, arranged in the best possible way so as to remain in position without any cement. No mortar or lime were used, only earth of a dark colour, apparently quite natural. On the stones of all sizes there was a rough plastering of clay with numerous potsherds chiefly of Byzantine origin, several of them broadly fluted on the surface. Numerous traces of picking were observed in the surface, undoubtedly intended to hold the finer mortar, of which unfortunately, nothing is preserved. The North wall was found to be of similar construction, the smooth side of the big stones being turned outwards. The upper parts of the walls have probably been of another, more regular construction. Among the heaps of stones on the floor there were several bearing resemblance to squared stones, a couple of them directly on the mosaic, and numerous well dressed stones were

found in the water basin north of the church. A number of fragments showed dressing with a comb chisel. Furthermore a great number of flat Roman tiles, *imbrices* and *tegulae*, were found; nearly all of them were carefully executed, and the surface of fracture had a dull, red colour.

The mosaic work showed numerous traces of the effects of fire. Restorations could be observed, especially in the rooms North of the church proper mentioned below. In the church they were less conspicuous, but there is no doubt that they had taken place. In any case slight differences caused by restorations were observed at certain places in the nave. The nave measured 8 by 5.4 m, while the depth of the chancel was 4.5 m, the total, interior length of the church being thus 12.5 m.

Furthermore there was evidence of an alteration in the church proper, carried out at an uncertain date. In the South side of the chancel we found three or four stones much like squared stones close to the wall. On the North side a similar work had apparently been carried out, but only one squared stone and a fragment were preserved. On the south side these stones were placed over part of the mosaic, and Figures 25-26 show that the mosaics have been damaged in the north as well by the placing of these stones.

In the nave at right angles with the South wall there were two rows of squared stones so placed that they covered part of the above-mentioned lozenge shaped ornament in the mosaic. The northern part of this row of stones is seen in Figure 27 but single heavy squared stones were finally found in the nave, just opposite each other at the southern and northern walls over the mosaic.

The last mentioned stones are probably the remnants of later pillars. The same origin must probably be assumed for the stones in the chancel; but the double row of stones near the South-East corner of the nave must have had another purpose; there is, however, to my mind no doubt that it belongs to the church in its last form.

West of the nave there is a narrow room, a little longer than the church is broad (a little more than 6 m, but only 2.4 m deep). This room can no doubt be designated as a *narthex*. At the North end of the West wall it has a door which is almost as broad as the church-door.

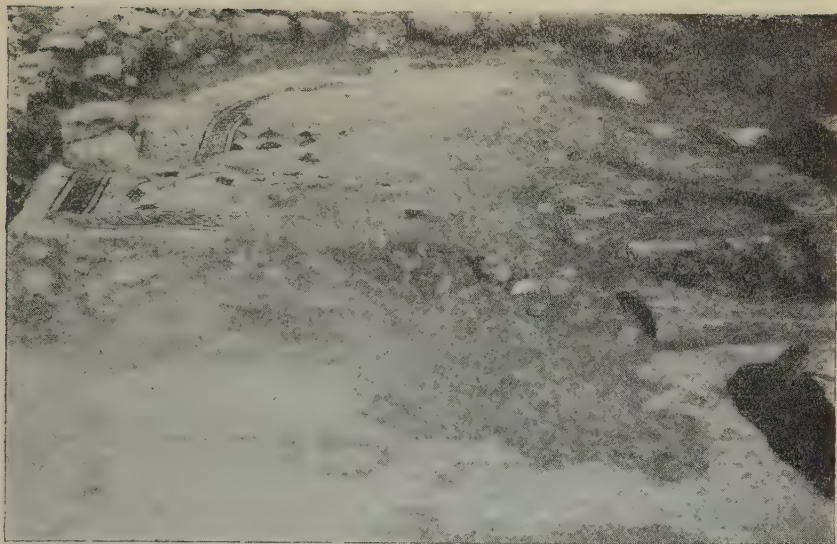


Fig. 27. The Chancel seen from the West. To the right, in the centre of the picture, part of the chancel-bar. In front a part of the mosaic work of the nave

Its width, ca. 1.46 m, is not quite certain, however, as it is much worn off. The situation of this door almost necessarily implies also a south door from the Atrium which is in front of it; but this is not proved. The narthex had mosaic-work in pattern formed of cubes as in the church but only a verly little of it was preserved.

From the narthex one could reach a small room farther to the north through a door which could be clearly discerned, and from there the room, designated in Pl. III as the "diakonikon." It is, however, uncertain whether there was a door from the diakonikon to the prothesis; but it is very probable. In any case one could come from the nave to the prothesis through a door in the south-western corner of this room. The door sill is unusually big, 1.80 m long, the opening about 1.08 m broad and 0.40 m deep; in front of it there is in the nave a kind of threshold in mosaic with large conventionalized leaves as in the chancel, but here remarkably excellent, being chiefly formed by coloured glass cubes (red, blue, and green.) The threshold stone shows holds for door pivots,

which, judged from the fact that they are almost shining from wear, must have been lined with metal. There is also a quadrilateral excision for a centre bolt.

In this northern room (the designation "prothesis" in Pl. III is, as it has been said, merely provisional) we found in the northwest corner signs that it had been used in Arab time, e.g. parts of a large earthen vessel, a *tannûr*. It is apart from the cistern the only place where it was evident that the Arabs had used the ruin for profane purpose.

I now proceed to the description of the most important room which has temporarily been called the "prothesis."

Together with the diakonikon it corresponds in length precisely to nave and chancel. The prothesis itself has a length of 7.10 m and is 4.80 m broad. The breadth is thus a little less than that of the church proper. The prothesis occupies the lesser half of the total width of the building. It is really a double room divided a little East of the centre by two wall pillars and two detached pillars, which probably carried arches. Even though the mosaic work in the floors is different, there is no doubt that the two parts belong to the same room. There was no trace of any entrance to the eastern part other than that from the West, and as the short distance between the wall pillar and the detached pillar does not allow passage, the only access was, as a matter of fact, through the centre of the room across the cervine mosaic mentioned below.

While the lower courses of the North and South walls could be uncovered in a comparatively well preserved state, both the West wall (towards the diakonikon) and the East wall were largely ruined, the last mentioned having partly tumbled down on the outside. This East wall was apparently very thick (1.6 m) and though on the outside it consisted of heavy stones like the other walls mentioned, it seems on the inside to have been formed of rather small stones. The border of the floor mosaic was partly preserved and shows clearly how far the floor extended (as denoted in Pl. III). There was no trace of a door in the East wall, and there was little evidence as to the inside of the walls; they have probably been like those of the church.

The floor mosaic of the western part was the best preserved of all the mosaics in the Pilgrims' Church, showing at the same time the finest composition and the most skilful work. It was formed of cubes of a similar size to those of the nave and chancel (ca. 1



Fig. 28. The Mosaic in the "Prothesis"—western part—seen from the West

cm square). The details of the figure-mosaics were of smaller tesserae. After a frame of 8 or 9 rows of white pieces follows between double, black frame lines a beautiful spiral meander in red on a white background (0.16 m). The large space within it is divided by white lines into squares of 0.23 m each. In the corners of these squares there are black and on the inside of them red pieces, so set that a decorative cross design is formed by the four conterminous corners. One of the diagonals is traced by similar, but smaller designs. As these designs are traced all across the floor, it looks as if this was divided into oblique squares in a very decorative manner. The *motifs* of the pattern are not very different from those of the nave, but the application is more attractive. The effect is a bright and festive floor.

In the centre of the floor there is an almost completely preserved mosaic inscription which also gives a decorative effect, encircled as it is by double frames, the outer one square, the inner one circular, while corner spaces are filled with ornaments. It is very impressive, the square frame being 0.89 m broad, the circular frame 0.82 m. The letters are in black on a white background with red mouldings between the lines (Fig. 29). The inscription is not divided into words. As it stands, transcribed into modern form, it reads as follows:

† ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως Πορφυρίου καὶ Ἰακώβου ἀδελφ[ο]ῦ

(For the rest of Porfyrios and Jakkobos, a brother.)

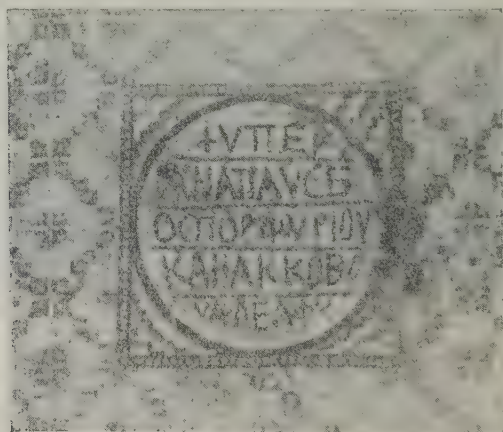


Fig. 29

O is used both for omikron and omega; Sigma is represented by C. The last letter but one has been left out by the artist owing to lack of space.

The space between the detached pillars, which divided the prothesis into an eastern and a western part, is 1.78 m broad. This space is almost filled by a figure of mosaic (Fig. 30).

In the centre is a tree with leaves and fruits, on either side a stag with the head turned toward the tree. It is a comparatively large picture. The height of the stags is 0.48 m at the back.

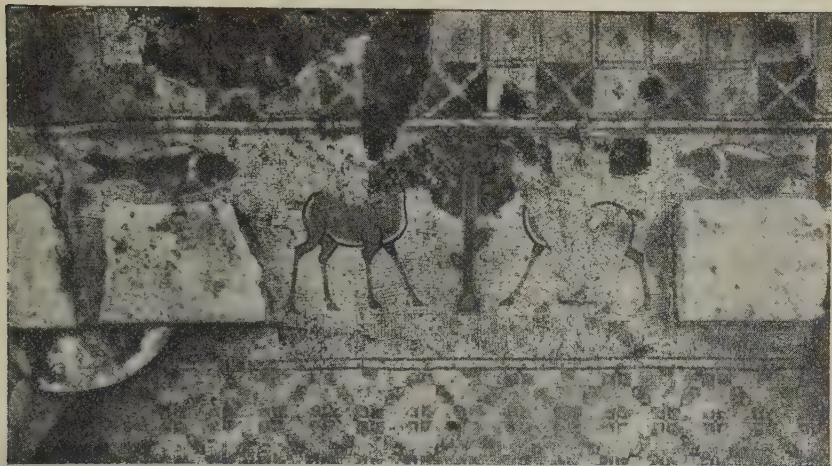


Fig. 30. Figure Mosaics in Prothesis. Seen from the West. In the centre a tree and stags; behind the quadrilateral pillars the figures of fish. (Phot. Dr. Aage Schmidt)

The tree has a conventionalized trunk of dark yellow with an oval knot on each side. The lower half of the crown is well preserved, the upper half (especially the northern part) poorly; this part of the picture has been restored, after a fire, and the restoration has been undertaken with the sole aim of making the surface even, and not the slightest attempt has been made to replace the pieces in the original pattern. The tree has big, red, round fruits (0.04 m broad). On the southern side (to the right) there were apparently seven or eight fruits, on the northern side there are now three fruits to be seen.

The stags also are chiefly drawn in yellowish-brown outlines. The hoofs and the short tails are black (small tesserae), the heads are also destroyed. While the stag on the northern side is the better preserved, the figure on the southern side (to the right) shows a primitive restoration similar to that of the tree.

That the eastern and western parts of the prothesis belong to the same room is distinctly indicated in the mosaic, as the frames and the spiral

meander from the western part are continued towards the east, outside the pillars, and round the mosaic of the eastern room. The *motif* of the floor mosaic is here quite different from that of the western room. The floor is divided into greater squares (0.29 m, cf. Fig. 31), which have alternately light diagonal crosses on a dark background which fill the whole field, and cross rosettes on a light background. A mosaic of similar pattern is in the museum of Beirut. It was found at el-Ma'an, near Sidon (Saidà) and has been published by G. Contenau, *Syria*, 1920, p. 224. The festive floor of the western room offers a striking contrast to this solemn decoration of the eastern room. Also here there are figure mosaics, two fishes, one behind each pillar at the passage. As to size they differ considerably from each other: the northern one being 0.74 by 0.25 m (without the dorsal fin), the other 0.61 by 0.20 m.

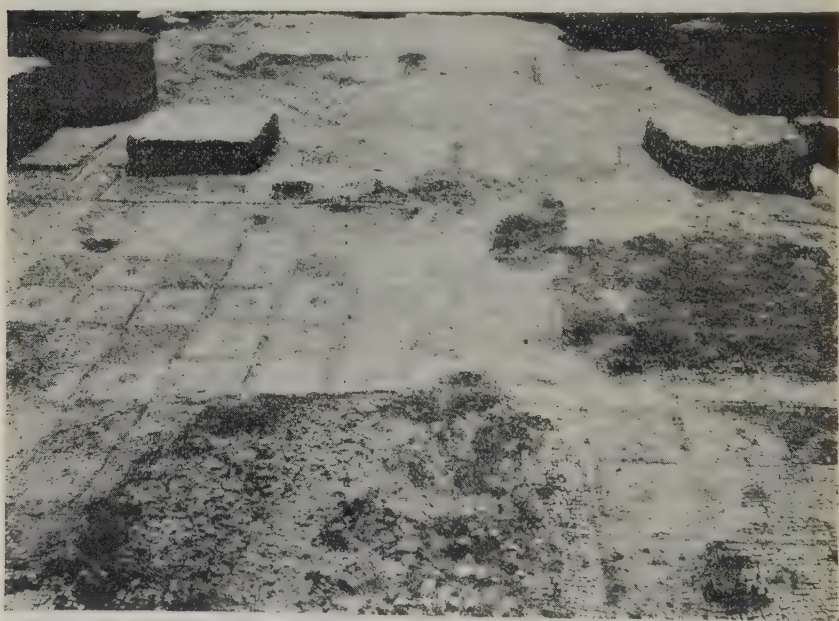


Fig. 31. The Mosaic Work in the Prothesis, the eastern room seen from the East. In front of the squared stones are the figures of fish

The observations in the prothesis stated here should no doubt enable us to approach the questions of interpretation and the determination of the date.

The inscription was doubtless laid in honour of two deceased persons. The word ἀνάπαισις confirms this. Less certain is the answer to the question whether the tombs of the two men are situated under the inscription. During the excavation no attempt was made to find them, and it can only be done through an examination which would be very difficult and would endanger the beautiful floor mosaic, as it would have to be "rolled up" in order to make the examination possible and afterwards replaced. It is, however, a question whether this should be done at all; there is not all too much to learn by such means.

I think I may say that an inscription of the above-quoted contents usually implies that the tomb is underneath and further that the building in which the inscription is found is indebted to the persons in question, whether for ideal or practical reasons. The first mentioned reason is no doubt the origin of the famous mosaic found in the ruins of a church on the Mount of Olives in 1894; with the following inscription:

"For the Repose of Eusebios, Presbyter, Theodosios, Diakonos, Eugenios, Elpidios, Eufрата, Agathonikos, Anchorites."

(BLISS, *Excavations at Jerusalem*, p. 212).

In this place tombs were found according to the inscriptions. Two of the skeletons found are supposed originally to have been buried at another place, and had not been carried to this place until later. They were placed in a side room at the extreme west of the northern side of the church. In part they lay under the inscription. The church is supposed to be older than 530 A.D.

As it is, it seems most probable that the two men mentioned in our inscription were buried here. With regard to the words: ἸΑΚΚΟΒΟΣ ἈΔΕΛΦΟΣ, "Brother Jacob," it must be noted that at this period "brother" had several meanings. It may not only mean "brother," but also "uncle," "nephew," or only "relation"; further "member of the community" and finally "friar."

Thus it is certainly probable that it is two men resident in Shiloh or at least two men who have deserved well of the church,

who are mentioned in the inscription. Further it is most probable that their tombs might be found under the mosaic. The Mount of Olives inscription quoted, as well as several other more obscure cases, seems, however, to suggest the possibility that graves from elsewhere have been transferred to a church. As the name Porfyrios does not seem to have been particularly common, to judge from the inscriptions (cf. among others *Corpus Inscr.*), I dare not omit to mention the possibility that it was desired to increase the importance of the locality by transferring the earthly remains of meritorious men thereto. Now the church history for these centuries contains one famous name, Porfyrios, the bishop of Gaza, who died in 420. Considering the glamour which in the mind of Christian Jews must be attached to the name of Shiloh, it does not seem safe entirely to exclude the possibility that the tomb of the bishop had been transferred to the Pilgrims' Church. One must admit, however, that tradition has nothing of it. The Bishop had brothers, but their names are not handed down to us. The name might possibly be due to someone named after the famous man.¹ Against a transfer it might be said that the Pilgrims' Church was not the most important church in Shiloh. This must surely have been the Basilica in the "Habs," to which I shall return later. It is older and must have existed contemporaneously with the Pilgrims' Church. For the possibility of a transfer speaks the surely live tradition of the especial sanctity of this church.

The date of the mosaic or of the room where it is found cannot be fixed, I am sorry to say, by means of the character of the letters. Any particular features that might be selected in this connection are too common through long periods of time to be of use for that purpose. Concerning the figures of fish it suffices at present to

¹ MARCI DIACONI, *Vita Porphyrii Episcopi Gazensis*, Lipsiae, 1885. With regard to "Jakkob brother" one might be tempted to think of "Jacob, the brother of Christ." He was, as is well known, bishop of Jerusalem; but after he had become a martyr in the year 63 he was buried near the Temple, where as late as the 3rd century his tomb was indicated by a stela. Later on the tomb and the stela both disappeared, so that it was only due to a vision that a new "Jacob's tomb" was produced near Jerusalem. It must be admitted that the possibility of his tomb having been transferred to Shiloh is most remote. And in the inscription, I think, his name ought to be the more distinguished.

say that it is difficult to decide whether in this case they are to be understood as the familiar acrostic, which probably had become quite common at this time; or one is to attach to them a more general significance (cf. F. J. DOELGER, "Das Fischsymbol in frühchristlicher Zeit," *Suppl. d. röm. Quartalschrift*, 1910.)

Of great importance are the figures of the stags and the tree in the entrance to the eastern room. The Christian symbolism and allegory of the stag are generally ascribed to the well known passage in the Psalms of David, 42: "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, oh God!"

What is typical in the representation, the stags on either side of a tree, links the pictures to the general religious and cultural development of the Near East. Babylonian seal-cylinders in numerous instances show two animals on either side of a tree. In this case, however, the representation must be considered in a specific Christian background without special regard to its older stages of development.

The stags, always two, are generally represented in connection with fountains or at least with running water. In a mosaic at Sens in the Northeast of France, the words from the Psalm are added. Sometimes the stags are on either side of the Lamb of God, which is sometimes represented as standing on a rock from which the rivers of Paradise flow, or they are to the right and left of the cross. The stag is very often a symbol of the soul, longing for baptism, and thus of the catechumen as well. The figure of the stag is often found on vessels of baptism, as for instance on the baptismal well in Basilica S. Salvatoris in Rome. In the earlier Middle Ages we have examples of the waters of baptism being poured out through vessels in the shape of stags (cf. KRAUSS, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, 1896. I, I, 114). The figures are often found in baptistries. It is in accordance with this when the church father Jerome actually calls the catechumen a stag.

The figures of stags in Shiloh nevertheless are most likely to be interpreted in a more general sense as an expression of the longing and hope of the Christian. The church father Ambrosius sees in the stag a symbol of Christ, and figures of stags may be seen on post-Constantinian sarcophagi from Rome and Southern Gaul.

One of these (depicted in KRAUSS, *l.c.*) has a comparatively complete representation: two trees, a rock on which stands the lamb of God, and two stags seeking the torrents of water flowing from the rock.

In Christian symbolism the tree represents the celestial paradise and the entire group of figures in Shiloh thus stands for both clearness and strength. Probably the tree must be interpreted as a pomegranate. The peculiar large fruits reappear in a mosaic in a crypt of the church of Elijah in Madeba, dated by STRZYGOWSKI about 490 A.D. (*Zeitschrift d. dt. Palästina-Vereins*, XXIV, 1901, 161; cf. *Rev. Biblique*, VI, 652.) This mosaic takes its shape from the apse and under that is a broad, oblong mosaic as in Shiloh; the latter is chiefly decorative, but bears a closer resemblance, however, to the mosaics which will be mentioned later in the "Habs" basilica, with inserted figures of animals in medallions together with inscriptions also in medallions. In the semicircular apse is a tree with fruits; the leaves of the tree-top are conventionalized so as to bear a very close resemblance to palmettoes; the picture is surrounded by a vine with leaves and clusters of grapes, the shapes of which resemble those of the chancel mosaic in Shiloh. On both side of the tree are figures of animals difficult to determine from the point of view of natural history. Probably they are lambs; but it is not entirely out of question that also in this case we have stags before us. The figures are very long legged. A pomegranate, again different in details from that in Shiloh, was found in Serdschilla (DE VOGUÉ, *Syrie centrale*; cf. *Rev. arch.*, XXXIX, 1901, H. C. BUTLER). This mosaic was found in the main room of a building which according to the inscription is the public bath. It is executed with greater art than that in Shiloh. The tree has distinct branches, ending in clover-shaped leaves and also red fruits. Above the tree-top the long inscription stands in reverse order, and around that may be seen more than eight figures, a lion, tiger, gazelle, bear, leopard (?), wild ass, together with two birds (stork, crane?). As the mosaic is from a profane building and four of the animals fight each other, it hardly can have Christian or religious meaning; neither is there, on the other hand, anything pagan in the inscription. This inscription, the date of which is fixed at 473 A.D., has C as sigma, and the correct characters for omikron and omega. In this case it concerns the man who had donated the

building, not the mosaic only. The erection of public baths was by no means an uncommon gift from a citizen. One might possibly also suppose the pomegranate in this case to be a derivation from the Christian symbolism which fashioned most of the mosaic work of these centuries. With regard to the Jewish-Christian significance of the pomegranate tree it might further be mentioned that the two columns which stood in front of Solomon's temple were adorned at the top with 200 pomegranates in bronze (I Kings 7) and that the robes of the High Priest were edged with pomegranates (and bells) in the colours violet and purple (wool) (Exodus 28. 33-34).¹

That the pomegranate-tree, which is not too common in Christian symbolism, still is used in Shiloh is possibly owing to the fact that it had never been entirely forgotten that this was the place of the old sanctuary.

It seems absolutely certain that the West room in the prothesis is to be considered as an anteroom to the East room. It seems equally certain that the East room had a special purpose of a religious character, judging not only from the serious character of the mosaic, but especially from the strangely symbolical stressing of the entrance. As there is no trace left of any basin in the East room, and as a basin must be presupposed in a baptistry, that possibility seems to be out of question. It was not until much later that baptismal submersion was left for besprinkling. Basins are found in other churches, (vide e.g. STRZYGOWSKI, *Kleinasiën*, 1903, 49, *Gülbagtsche*).

If one should make any suggestion within the possibility of correctness it might be something to the effect that the room was destined for the celebration of the agape, the religiously stressed love-feast of the early Christian community. It is a well known fact that the agape played no unimportant part in the life of the Christian communities. The ecumenical council in Laodicea, about 363 A.D., forbade to celebrate agapes in basilicas and churches or to eat in the house of God and to arrange tables there.² The

¹ Dr. Aage Schmidt has kindly called attention to this fact. It seems hardly necessary to say that a series of other details in this account has been discussed between Dr. Schmidt and the author.

² An agape table found in Matifou, near Algiers, is semicircular (1.30 by 0.70 m); another in Bishop Alexander's "death chapel" in Tipasa, also semicircular, is 3.55 m

ecumenical council in Gangra, Galatia, about 560-570 also tried to regulate the agape. Most likely then the agape was in use at the time when the Pilgrims' Church was built. The agape table must have stood just before the East wall where the mosaic now shows signs of having been seriously disturbed. In catacombs from the time of the Emperors two rooms are sometimes found on top of each other, the lower with the graves, the upper for meetings of the mourners.¹

There is apparently not sufficient reason to suppose that the room in Shiloh was used for that purpose. If it was an agape-room, we may be justified in concluding that the figures of fish in the east room at the pillars do not form the well known acrostic, but without difficulty might be taken as representing the Gospe account of the miraculous feeding of the crowds with five loaves and two little fish (Matthew 14.19).

Of the diakonikon there is unfortunately very little to be said. There were no traces of a floor mosaic. In the Northwest there had been a door of which a part of the threshold could be seen; whether, however, there had been a door from this room to the prothesis is, as stated above, uncertain.

In front of the diakonikon a considerable part of the North wall had tumbled down; it is possible that the winter rain had carried the whole floor away; as a matter of fact a number of white cubes of mosaic were found outside, not, however, in a quantity which might even approximately correspond to a whole floor.

wide, but only 0.70 m high; is dated from ca. 400 A.D.; a third table, from Tixter, between Sétif and Algiers, has an inscription and is 3.30 m wide. A room on the side of the basilica in Morsott contains numerous fragments of glass cups and is generally supposed to be an agape room. (GSELL, *Monuments antiques de l'Algérie*, II, 234, here quoted from CABROL, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités chrétiennes*, "Agape"). The glass vessels were uniform, long stemmed, without handles. The baptistry was situated behind the apse (5.5 by 2 m, the basin is 0.93 by 0.84 m). In the agape room of Bishop Alexander's death-chapel the agape table was masoned with the surface sloping from the centre towards the sides.

¹ *Giornale degli scavi di Pompeii*, 1869, I, 242, POZZUOLI: Cubiculum ad confrequentandam memoriam quiescentium.

The total interior length of the north rooms is 12.65 m, the exterior length, 15 m. A Hebrew "yard" being 0.483 m, the length of the tabernacle "yards" thus makes 14.60 m, almost the same. The uniform character of the wall suggests that the nave and chancel, prothesis and diakonikōn formed a complete entirety, to which is to be added also the southern and the northern extensions of the exterior walls and the west wall, which finishes off the whole rectangular system. Apparently there had once been an open court with a cistern at the eastern front of these most important parts of the building, a little north of the centre. Later the narthex, atrium, hall, and the different small rooms at the north had been joined to and built into the church. In one of the small rooms there was an oblong excision in the rock, presumably a grave; we did not, however, find in it any remnants of skeletons, or antiquities which might date it.

The atrium, which was west of and a little longer than the narthex, was a considerable room, the interior 6.50 by 4.45 m. An entrance to the narthex could be clearly discerned in the extreme north, another must be supposed to have been in the south wall, where it has not, however, been definitely proved. The floor, which sloped slightly towards the north and from which there had been a drain to the cistern, was laid with white mosaic of rather large cubes (about 2 cu. cm.). In the mosaic three quadrilateral spaces were left open; one in the west close to the hall, (0.79 by 0.57 m), one in the centre (0.80 by 0.49 m), and one in the east (0.80 by 0.56 m). The intervals are almost of the same length: 1.02 and 1.08 m. That these spaces were intentional was clearly proved by the fact that they were encircled by a frame of two rows of mosaic cubes in the same way that the edges of the floor were indicated. They were no doubt the bases of three pillars and consequently a part of the atrium was under cover, most likely the southern part, which, measured from the North edge, has been 2.30 m broad. The floor was as shown in Fig. 32, well preserved in the south, but much damaged in the north. Sufficient fragments have, however, been preserved to justify the conclusion that also the whole northern part of the room had a mosaic floor.

A door sill in the North wall showed that there was access from here to the room East of the cistern; it was the only entrance to

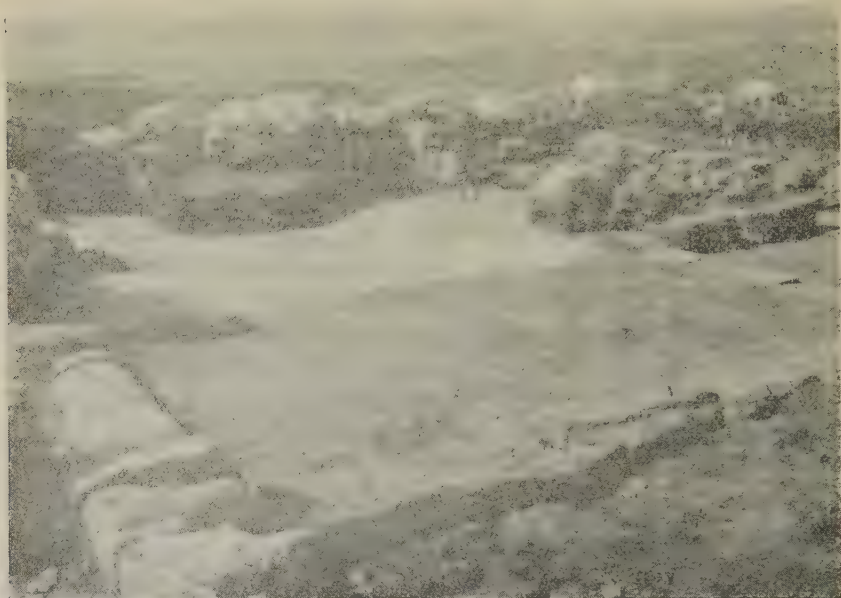


Fig. 32. Atrium seen from the North-East. A part of the earth which covered it in the south has not been removed. Front left the door to narthex; to the right the damaged door sill to the hall

this room. The entrance to the atrium was from the entrance ramp through a narrow hall; the damaged door sill is seen to the right in Fig. 32.¹

On the sides of the ramp there was no doubt a stone wall, continued out to the "Christian Road," *ṭarîq en-našâra*, 10 m from the ramp. The ramp leads up to the only entrance to the whole block. The door is indicated by a heavy stone, which rests well preserved in its place (1.75 m wide) with incisions for the door wings (1.50 m wide). It is evident that there were two wings from the fact that there are two quadrilateral holds (8 by 5-7.5 by 6 cm, 5-6 cm deep) for a bolt or bar. They are situated but three cm from the edge of the excision; the doors thus being too thin

¹ This was the only place where during the excavation a malevolent or mal-content fellâh committed an outrage. The night after the picture, Fig. 33, had, fortunately, been taken, the greater part of the mosaic visible on the picture was disturbed. After that we placed a guard every night.

to have been made of stone, the material was presumably wood or metal. The holes for the door-posts are about 10 cm wide, worn as though by metal lining. The broad, obliquely arch-shaped grooves from the door-post holes toward the centre of the stone have no doubt served at the placing of the door-posts.¹ On the other hand it is not possible yet to grasp the purpose of the narrow, straight and rather deep grooves close to the edge of the excisions.

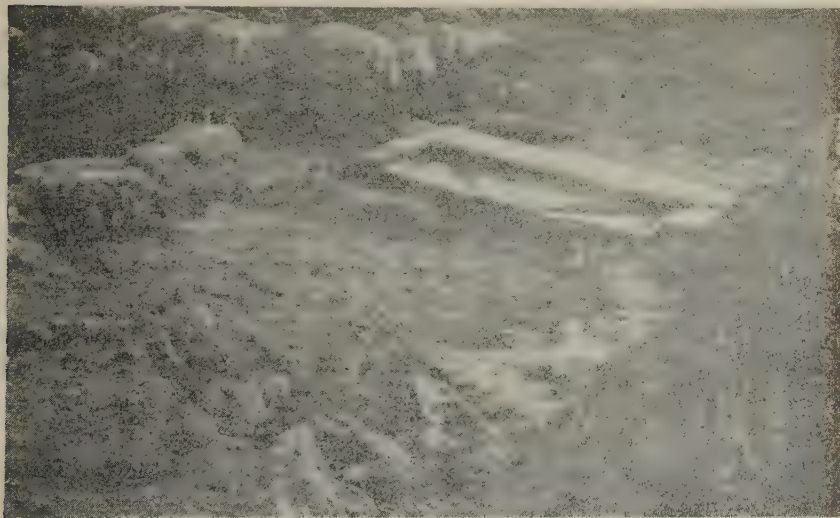


Fig. 33. The Hall with Door-Sill; behind it the entrance-ramp; seen from within, from the North-East, during the excavations.

The hall is of very modest dimensions. In fact in its last stage as rebuilt it was rather a lobby, only 2.35 by 2.10 m. wide. In its earlier shape it was one metre wider from North to South. It was not until its last stage that it was situated straight before the entrance. In the earlier form it had a floor mosaic exclusively of white cubes, a little smaller than those in the atrium. When the room was reshaped, the new South wall was carried across this floor without the mosaic being removed. Thus it came about that the entrance to the atrium was in the centre. Furthermore a door sill was seen in the North leading into a room which in its present shape is very narrow and which seems to have been divided across.

¹ Cf. DE VOGUÉ, *Syria*, I, p. 55.

Whether it was connected with the cistern, and how it was entered could not be seen. A narrow room South of the anteroom was entered through a door which, like the North door, was narrower than the rest, only 0.90 m wide.

With regard to the many small rooms in the western half of the entire construction it suffices yet to say that the room North of the atrium, that in which the above mentioned tomb (?) was found, had a floor of flat stones. It rested upon a couple of layers of similar stones and then the rock came to light, having a flat surface, rough and uneven, quite unworked.

Very little appeared to throw any light on the other parts of the rooms and of the building itself. The higher parts of the walls had been of cut stones. Altogether two Roman bricks were found. Without doubt a great deal of the material consisted of the many stones with which the basin to the North was found quite filled, and among these were several stones with excisions for a door or a window, most likely doors, as there were at least nine. A very few small stone fragments showed flat profiles, most likely from the upper edge of the walls; a piece of a small column of limestone, 0.11 m thick, the fragment 0.30 m long, was found. Also in the atrium parts of the insides of the wall were discovered to be of the same inferior character as in the nave. In the atrium towards the North wall was found a single piece of mortar with a white, now yellowish surface (plaster?). The charcoal found in the church proper and in the basin to the North should help in the identification of the roofing. Little came from the rooms of the church and most of it in pieces too small to offer any possibility for determining whether they came from fashioned wood or not. In the room North of the atrium the greatest quantity was found (about 200 cu. cm.), nearly all the pieces the size of a walnut. Dr. K. JESSEN, the botanist, says with regard to this that a few pieces probably come from large timbers. Others showed both narrow and broader annual rings in the same piece. As for the charcoal from the basin, No. 131, in the bottom of the basin, fourth layer from the top, there was altogether about 770 cu. cm., partly from branches up to two centimetres diagonally and partly from larger timbers having annual rings of up to 0.5 cm. The largest supply, about 3200 cu. cm. was for the greater part the size of a nut or walnut and also came from the bottom

of the basin. Besides several pieces from branches a piece 3 cm in size coming from rather large timbers and bearing distinct traces of having been fashioned was found here. All these pieces as well as the charcoal from the church and its surroundings were from pine. Some of it may of course have found its way to the spot accidentally, and in any case what is quoted here does not prove much more than that fire was a contributory cause in the destruction of the church, and that on this occasion much wood was burned, most likely from the roofing. The numerous fragments of flat tiles (*imbrices* and *tegulae*) dug up everywhere in the layers of the entire plan, except in the chancel, where only a few were found, most likely also originate from the roofing.

The particulars mentioned above go to make it probable that the mosaics and very likely the entire plan in its present shape came into existence about 500 A.D. Direct proofs can hardly be adduced. It is possible, however, to find a support for this supposition in the coins, discovered in the nearest layers outside the exterior walls at such a depth that their origin can hardly have been accidental. They were as follows:

1 Honorius (d. 420)

2 Theodosius III (d. 450)

1 Roman coin from the fifth cent., impossible to fix more definitely.

This would place the construction of the building in that period which is characterized by Père H. VINCENT as the most quiet and propitious for the building of churches, a time when churches were built even on very isolated spots. This corresponds also with the account that in the year 532 A.D. forty-one churches were built in Asia Minor by the new Christians, and fifty-five at the expense of the Aerarium,¹ and it agrees with the report that Jerome (346-420) saw "the foundations of the altar," but does not mention any church.

While discussing the mosaics it has several times been mentioned that the church had suffered more or less damage from fire before its final destruction, and that after this fire the mosaics were repaired in a barely satisfactory manner. Probably the alterations and

¹ J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Kleinasion*, p. 160.

additions to the original construction took place about this time. Nothing more at present can be said about it.

There is more to be said about the final and complete destruction. It was without doubt done by violence. A great deal of the material was carried away from its place and thrown into the large water reservoir on the north. Before discussing the question of the date of the destruction of the church I should like to say a few words about this reservoir and its contents. The character of the reservoir may very well be judged from the picture Fig. 34.



Fig. 34. A part of the reservoir north of the "Pilgrims' Church," with its contents of building stones, etc.; seen from the East. To the left, above, the wall of the church; below, the South wall of the reservoir; in the reservoir several building stones; in the background a dressed stone.

The reservoir is chiefly hewn into the rock and stands with almost perpendicular walls; inequalities of the walls near the surface have been filled out, especially in the North, with small stones. In the

South is a perpendicular wall of squared stones, which serves as lining of the wall of rock immediatly behind it. The measurements of the reservoir overall are from North to South 6.95—7.10 m, from East to West 5.40—5.00 m. The depth varies somewhat, both because the surface slopes towards the North, and also because the bottom was uneven. The North-West corner was the highest; that in the South-West, near the pipe connection with the cistern, was the deepest. The sides were even and covered with a rather good sort of plaster. This had partly fallen off, however, and in general the reservoir made a dilapidated impression. The South wall was built up in a rather regular succession of courses, for the greater part of well fashioned, squared stones, a few of which were flat, most of them 0.45 by 0.35 m, but with many larger and smaller ones between. In the deeper layers also there were found stones with plaster. As may be seen from Fig. 33 and Plan III, the line formed by the reservoir wall diverges somewhat from the wall of the church building, which only in the East rested directly on the reservoir wall.

The mass of stones found in the reservoir covered almost its entire extent, but in such a way that the greater part was found in the southern half. Here they were also closest together with but little earth between. Some of them were quite well fashioned into the shape of squared stones, but most of them were rather rough, and showed but little trace, or indeed none at all, of having been fashioned by human hands. But as already mentioned there were several stones, which had excisions as if for the side of a door or a window; a single one had an excision for a large (wooden?) bolt, and all of this no doubt originated from a building which cannot very well have been other than the church. That this building was purposely destroyed and that the stones could not very well have fallen down into the reservoir of their own momentum seems obvious, so obvious in fact, because of the number of the specially trimmed stones, as to leave no doubt whatever. Only one door at most, that of the diakonikon, was near enough to the reservoir to allow the assumption that gravity alone was instrumental in its fall into the reservoir, and even that is hardly possible. All the others are lying at so great a distance that a direct fall is absolutely out of the question.

The question then arises whether the antiquities found among the stones offer any information as to the date of the destruction of the church or not. The greater part of the antiquities must be supposed to be contemporaneous with or older than this event. This concerns especially the things found lying on a deeper plane. A number of potsherds from earthen vessels was found, quite a lot of charcoal as already mentioned, iron nails especially, a few of which were very solid, some fragments of glass, parts of stone vessels, a few special objects of iron or bronze, together with some coins. Apart from the top layers, where some meddling may have taken place, the potsherds were decidedly of a late Byzantine or early Arabian character. It ought to be no surprise that also older potsherds were found. Considering the large quantities, some thousands, some no doubt came from the old surface. They were mainly "odd" potsherds, which could not be put together into entire vessels, or even larger parts of vessels. Not infrequently, however, several potsherds from the same vessel were brought to light. It was the same with the fragments of glass. There were quite a few flat, plate-shaped vessels, but also cups and decanter-shaped vessels were found. The prevailing colour was an iridescent light green. Some few were of purple glass. In several cases parts of stone vessels were found which had been broken, and the fragments were held together with clamps of lead.

Among the smaller objects I mention a little cosmetic spoon of bronze with an oblong bowl and further an iron knife with long, spirally twisted handle (both now in the Museum at Jerusalem). The knife is in Fig. 35. The time at which these objects were thrown into the basin can be fixed by the fact that in the North close to the bottom we found fragments of a couple of lamps from late Byzantine or early Arabian times, one of them with imitations of Greek letters. The few coins correspond

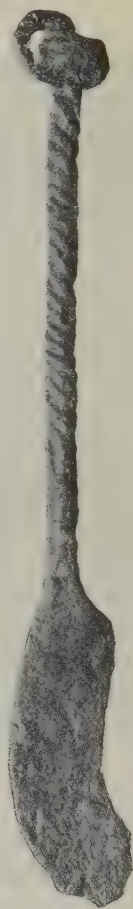


Fig. 35. Iron Knife
L. 0.23 m

to this as to date; they are contemporary with or older than the lamps, approximately between Constantius II (337-361) and Constans II (643-644). Thus the contents of the reservoir seems to have been placed there about the middle of the seventh century A.D.

It will now be quite natural to ask whether the discoveries in the rooms of the church confirm or invalidate what has hitherto been stated. As might be expected, the cistern offered but limited information in this respect, apart from what has already been stated, namely that the pipe connection between the cistern and the water reservoir at the North was of a Roman character. The mouth of the cistern¹ was formed on top by specially fashioned stones resting upon some smaller stones which again rested upon the rock. The mouth is about 0.43 by 0.64 m. The inside of the cistern, which was 5.00 by 5.50 m with a rather plane bottom and ceiling, lay in an asymmetrical relation to the the mouth, inasmuch as the North wall was only 1 m to the North of it. The bottom was 6.50 m below the mouth, being thus considerably lower than the bottom of the North basin. The sides of the interior of the cistern are covered with fairly well preserved plaster which seems to be of a late, even Arabian, character. No horizontal bottom layer was found. The cistern was in use at the time when the "Pilgrims' Church" was destroyed and not later on. At the bottom was found a large heap, roughly cone shaped, consisting of bigger and smaller stones with a considerable amount of argillaceous earth in between; the stones were not dressed, and measured up to 0.40 m in length; however, three stones tolerably squared were found at the surface, having rolled down a little from the top. They measured 0.80 by 0.45 by 0.35 m, 0.50 by 0.40 by 0.30 m, and 0.45 by 0.40 by 0.25 m. It must be supposed that the greater part of this material came from the church. Some of it may have fallen in later. There were also found painted Arabian potsherds and a piece of a blue Arabian glass bracelet; but everything points to the fact that the cistern had been partly filled, together with the water-reservoir in the North, and that it had not been in use later.

The material from the rooms of the church has of course but little value. The layer of earth which covered the floor was but

¹ Excavated by Dr. AAGE SCHMIDT.

thin, and interferences of a later date may, and most probably have taken place. In the bottom layers the potsherds were decidedly predominant, and they were chiefly from Arabian times, the more distinct ones from some early Arabian age. Also coins were found, but they were of little importance in this connection. In the atrium was one of Theodosius (379-95 A.D.), in the prothesis an Arabian coin from the Middle Ages.

Inasmuch, then, as preponderating importance must be attached to the observations made from the material found in the water reservoir in the North and in the cistern, it seems most likely that the "Pilgrims' Church" was destroyed soon after the conquest of Palestine by the Arabs, about 634 A.D. Considering the usual attitude of the Mohammedans towards Christian sanctuaries, this cannot but seem strange, and the more strange as another particular fact was observed, which is much more in keeping with the general attitude. Whether there was a Christian churchyard hard by the church is at present uncertain. But close the South and West walls was found a number of Arabian, Mohammedan tombs built of smaller stones in the shape of flat, oblong heaps (cf. Fig. 23 and Pl. III). There were at least five at the South and two in the West, South of the entrance ramp. One of the tombs at the South was examined and proved to contain a skeleton with the head toward the West, reposing on the right side, the face turned towards the South, towards Mecca. One of the tombs at the West also contained a skeleton with the head in the same position. A third in the South-West corner covered the grave of a child. Consequently this place was considered holy also in the time of Islam.

Of far greater importance, however, is the question concerning the theories with regard to the church in more ancient times. From a close examination of Pl. III alone it must seem quite obvious that the "Pilgrims' Church" cannot be the oldest monument on this spot. Everything considered, in comparison with other churches in Palestine, (cf., e. g., A. E. MADER, *Altchristliche Basiliken*, 1918, *passim*), it is not much more irregular than several other church-buildings. It seems difficult to set up a standard type of early Christian church building in the Holy Land. The plan of the churches seems to a very great extent to have been dependent

upon local conditions; consequently the judgement must depend upon local observations.

The material from the church preserved in the North basin and in the cistern points to the fact that the higher parts of the church walls were of fairly regular squared stones, or at least of similar stones. Some observations stated earlier in this paper serve as a confirmation of this.

There is a decided contrast between the outer or, enceinte, wall, in its present state of preservation, and the construction of the church walls proper. Though the no doubt more recent inner walls in the West be even left out of the question, the outer, enceinte

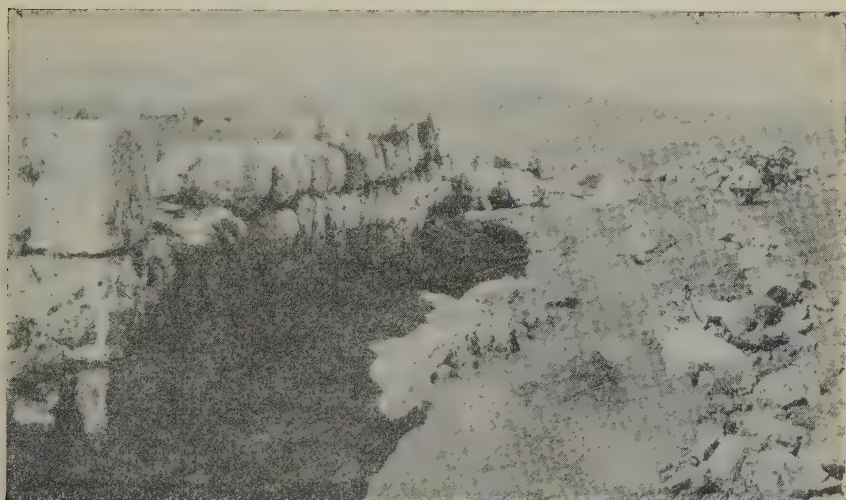


Fig. 36. The North Wall seen from the East

wall is in reality of a puzzling character. Three of the stones, at the corners, at the North-West, North-East, and the South-East, are very large. The one at the South-East, in the second course from the base, is 1.25 by 0.68 by 0.45 m. The one at the North-East, in the fourth course from the base, is 0.85 by 0.70 by 0.55 m, and they all seem to have the "boss," well known from Roman times, with smooth-hewn borders encircling a rough centre. Generally the stones of this enceinte wall are large, 0.60 by 0.50 m, and quite a few are bigger, up to 0.70 by 0.55 m. The smallest observed,

0.37 by 0.42 m, is in the North wall. The wall now is neither in plumb nor in line, but of course this may be due to shiftings in the course of time, like the toppling down of stones in the East and the North.

It cannot be characterized as a proper ashlar wall at all. The North wall especially shows decidedly no resemblance to Byzantine masonry, but has much more the aspect of "Cyclopean" masonry.

The South wall furnished a few supplementary observations. It stood on the rock, which slopes gently from East to West, having three to four courses still in place. Among the stones is not a single, absolutely regular square-hewn stone, but a number are tolerably quadrilateral. Apart from the five stones to the extreme West, which are heavy, and the already mentioned large stone at the

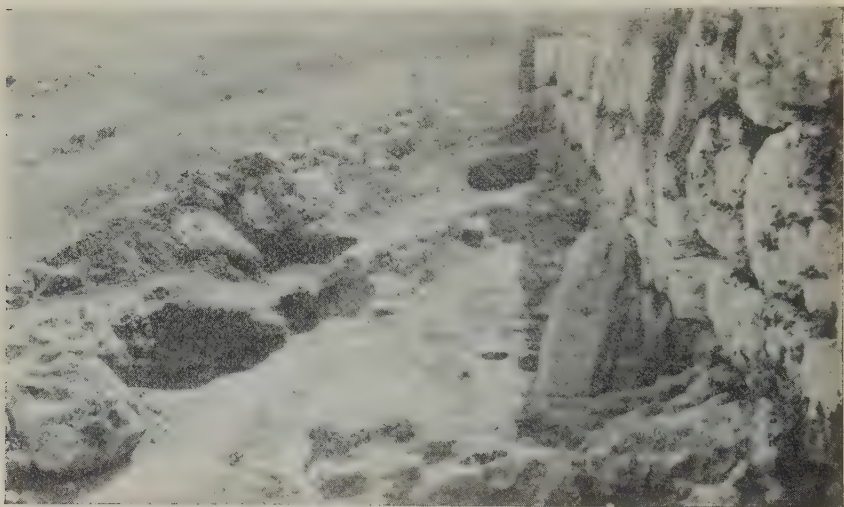
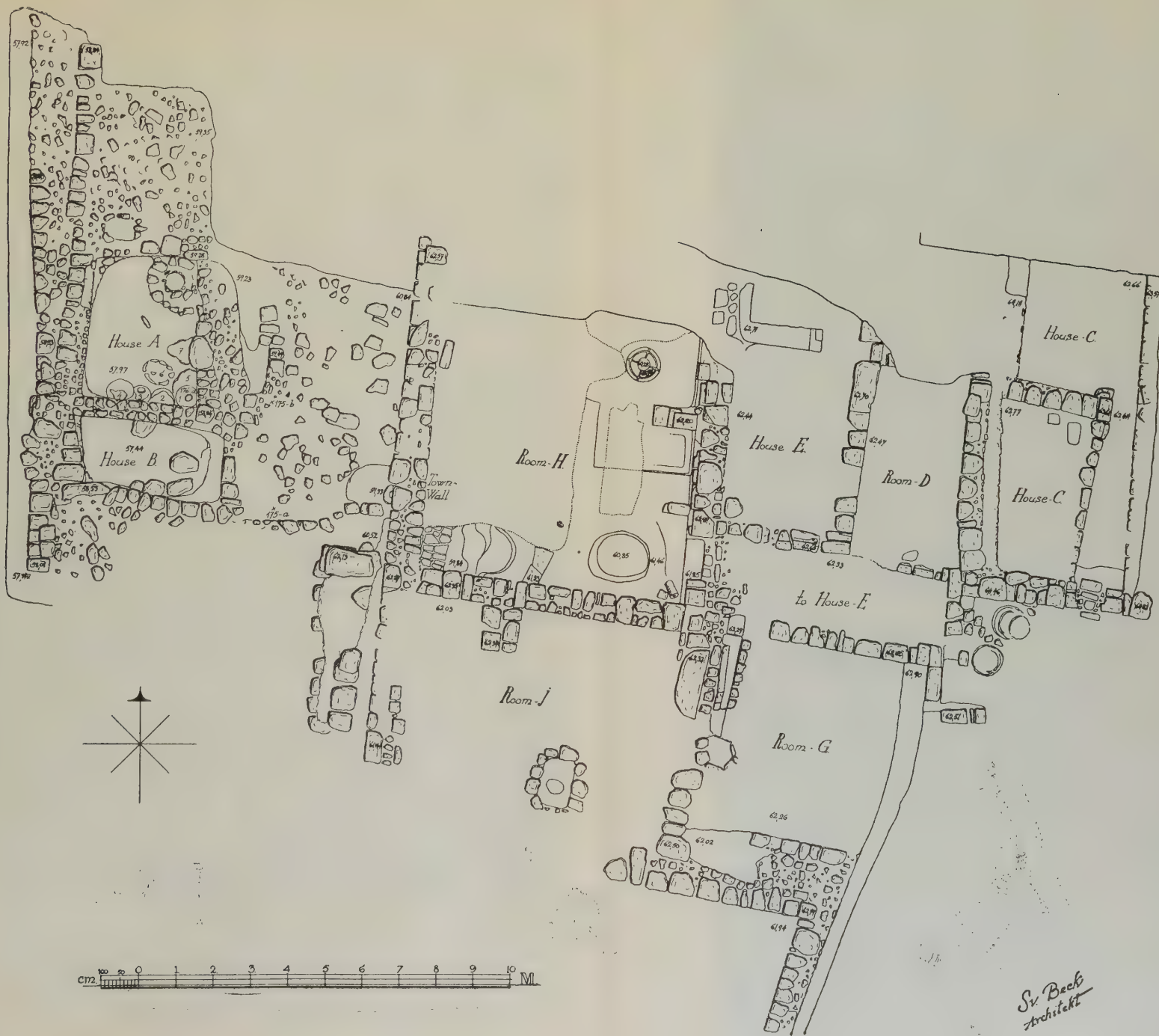


Fig. 37. The North Wall seen from the West, with rock-cuttings. Leaning against the wall is a larger stone found in the smaller, oblong pit.

South-East corner with a "boss," they are generally smaller, but somewhat more regular than those on the North side. Close to the outside was found argillaceous earth, chiefly without stones, which no doubt was carried to the spot; it contained but a few potsherds of Roman-Byzantine character. The foot of the wall had probably been covered to about the same extent as when the excavation started, and then about half of the top course only was visible.

PLAN II. EXCAVATIONS OF 1929 ON TELL



It seems probable, then, that previous to the "Pilgrims' Church" another building stood on this spot, having the same enceinte wall. This is confirmed by the strange fact that the outer wall in the East and in the West had a thickness of not less than 1.50 to 1.60 m, and still further by the fact that parts of a similar, very thick wall were discovered below the floor in the room North of the narthex, hard by the West wall of this room (cf. Pl. III). Unfortunately the data necessary for fixing the date of this older building are not to be found in the material hitherto discovered. Some inkling of it, however, may possibly be gleaned from the rock cuttings, which were brought to light just North of the North wall (cf. Pl. III and Fig. 37).

The quite flat, quadrilateral excision which can be seen straight before the western part of the prothesis of the "Pilgrims' Church" is probably the oldest. It was in part open contemporaneously with the church, inasmuch as two stones fallen from the wall were found half way down in the excision. This is partly covered by the "enceinte wall" of the church; only the northern half is now uncovered. The width was about 4.25 m, the depth but small, from 0.12 m in the North-West corner to 0.33 m; it seems to have been uncovered as early as even the Arabian period. Whether it is a press is doubtful, as no outlet could be observed with any degree of certainty; given such an outlet it should be to a smaller tank immediately to the north. The bottom was very uneven.

Immediately west of this little tank there may very likely be another press (an oil-press?), from which was taken the large stone which in Fig. 37 is seen leaning against the North wall. In the bottom of the South-West corner there is apparently a sort of little "well," a reservoir. The press proper is about 1.50 m deep, the little reservoir about 0.20 m. While chiefly Byzantine potsherds were discovered in the press, a number of Roman ones were found in the little reservoir. From this it might be possible to conclude that the use of the press stopped in the Roman period. At any rate it might point to the possibility of the North wall being older than Roman times.

At present it does not seem possible to go any further with regard to the chronology of the North wall and thus of the entire enceinte wall.

The Basilica

It was a surprise to find the "Pilgrims" Church," but it was even more surprising soon after to find that there had been another church edifice in Shiloh, namely a basilica.

The place is nearer the tell, on a spot called by the Arabs *Habs*, "prison," east of *Ṭarīq en-Naṣâra*, "the Christian Road." The surface of the Spot seemed to show nothing but remnants of Arabians buildings of a rather mediocre character. A closer inspection showed, however, that underneath was a rather large building, beautifully decorated, which manifested itself also on the surface by the appearance of several *tesserae* of small size and consequently of a finer character. As a more thoroughgoing examination is reserved for future exploration, only a few details will be given in order to illustrate the importance of this spot.

The longitudinal direction of the basilica is exactly East-West, with the chancel exactly in the East. The nave is comparatively broad, 15.10 m, compared with the length, 18 m. The chancel is 7 m wide, 3.5 m deep—all measures taken on the outside. In



Fig. 38. Two Capitals on the Floor of the Basilica in the "*Habs*"

front of the West end is a vestibule of the same width as the entire nave. Rows of tiles divide the entire nave into a wide main aisle and side aisles, apparently about 2.9 m wide, while the main

aisle is about 8 m wide. In its last shape it seems to have been bounded by a series of columns erected on a row of tiles. A single base of a column is preserved in the west. Here were also found two capitals lying side by side most likely placed there for further use when the building was destroyed in the Arab period. Others have been used in Jāmīa es-Sittīn. The capitals of the columns in this building show a very close resemblance to the two above-mentioned prostrate capitals. In the nave, in the main aisle, is a beautiful mosaic with splendid colours and full of life, with rosaces,



Fig. 39. Mosaic from the Main Aisle in the Basilica in the "Habs" half-rosaces, oblique figures, and squares, together with magnificent border-flowers, executed in unusually small cubes, about 0.50 cu. cm. (Fig. 39).

It has been stated already in this paper that this mosaic offers a strange resemblance to a mosaic in the crypt of the Church of Elijah in Madeba. The resemblance is so pronounced that they seem to have been executed by the same artist. Considerable layers of ashes make it more than probable that the basilica perished by fire. After the fire the artistic decorations were employed as far as they might be of use, thus for instance in the Jâmi'a es-Sittîn, but other things were concealed, e. g. the two capitals, and on the ruins a new building was erected. In the most literal sense of the word they levelled the ground so that one of the big columns and a smaller one remained as bases for new building. This new Arab house was considerably shorter; in front a row of broad tiles was placed, the very tiles which had last adorned the central nave (Fig. 40).



Fig. 40. Row of Tiles from the Arab Building over the Basilica in the "*Habs*"

This building has thus left evidence of a most barbarous treatment of antiquities in Arabian times. — It deserves to be noted that the skeleton of a child was found close to the South side of the chancel, no doubt from Christian times.

Narthex and atrium are most probably situated in front of the basilica, so that the front of building was very near the "Christian Road." Judging from the parts of the basilica which have thus far come to light it must have been an impressive and beautiful building. Especially the capitals of the columns and the mosaics are far superior to the mosaics of the "Pilgrims' Church" as to wealth of detail and delicacy of treatment. To judge from the mosaics and the forms of the capitals the basilica must have been built before 500 A.D.

Whether the basilica is really older than the "Pilgrims' Church" cannot be decided with any certainty at present. G. CONTENAU (*Syria*, 1920, p. 229) believes it possible to date a mosaic with the same main *motif* as that of the East mosaic in the agape-room of the "Pilgrims' Church" at about 300, the transition period from the third to the fourth centuries A.D. This is of course no final estimate of the main *motif* of the mosaic, the large crosses. Probably this *motif* was used through a long period, and it may originally have been purely decorative, not especially Christian. But it would be of the greatest importance to the appreciation of the "Pilgrims' Church" and its relations to have thrown full light on this question. If the "Pilgrims' Church" was the first church in Shiloh, there is undeniably an increased probability that the church was built comparatively far from the town because of certain traditions in connection with this place. It will be the chief aim of the next examination of the basilica—and eventual re-examination of the "Pilgrims' church"—to clear up this question.

Concerning the date of the destruction of the basilica no direct evidence has yet been found, only Arabian potsherds which do not allow of any precise dating. The Arabic name *ḥabs* ("prison") which the *fellāḥīn* have given the place might denote that there has been a courthouse here.

Only a small part of the artistic decoration of the old church building was used in the "Jāmi' es-Sittīn"—four capitals and parts of the corresponding columns. What has become of the rest is uncertain. A base which might belong to it was found by the "Christian Road" when we cleared it to make it passable again, in the neighbourhood of Jāmi' el-Yeteīm. Perhaps Shiloh had a third

church nearer to the hill. Investigation by Dr. SCHMIDT in 1922 found here a floor of large tiles. It might be that this, the only building preserved in Seilûn, was a Christian sanctuary which is continued through the Arabian *weli*. The leafy terebinth close to the West of the *weli* is a clear sign that this place is still the object of religious respect, though it is falling into ruins and is unused as a sanctuary.

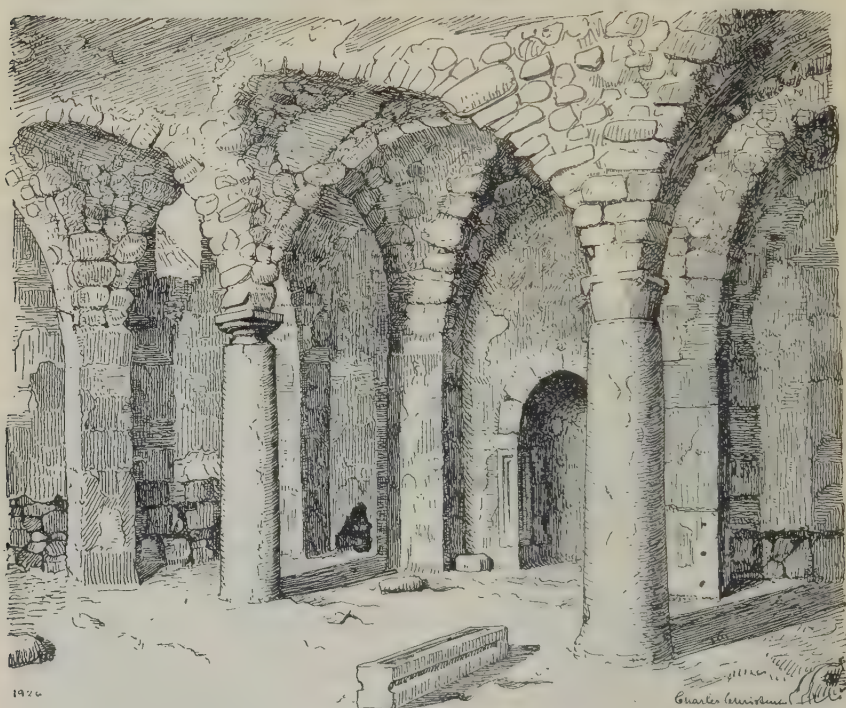


Fig. 41. Weli Jâmi' el-Yeteim, interior, drawn by Charles Christensen, the architect, 1926

This structure also is undoubtedly built of material from older buildings. The hewn stones in the walls are on the whole good and might date from the time of the basilica, as also the bar-pillars seen on the each side of *mihrab*. But the capital of the column seen in Fig. 41 (to the right) is decidedly not from that source, nor does the base used as a capital (to the left) belong to the basilica.

Stone-Quarry and Rock Pond

A little stone-quarry in the neighbourhood of the above-mentioned Mughâret el-^cAsad was examined. The rock pond at the "Christian Road," the sides of which are partly formed of big stones, and at the West side of which there were heavily worn steps, was sounded as an introduction to examination. As, however, it became evident through the sounding that the pond had been cleared in Arabian times, we thought it purposeless to proceed here. The pond dries up even before the warm season, in 1929 about May 10 in spite of heavy showers as late as April 21-22 contrary to what is ordinarily the case. Yet there are several signs that in ancient times it had a special meaning. As far as I know, this has not continued through Arab times. It is largely used for watering sheep and goats; but I have also often seen the water used for washing before prayer.

Jâmi^c es-Sittîn

In spite of its ruined outward appearance this *weli* is still looked upon as a sanctuary by the *fellahîn*, at least nominally, and evidence that ceremonies of religious character have taken place not so long ago was offered by parts of very late lamps. In this connection it is worth noting that even up to modern times such ceremonies have also been carried out in the now totally ruined sanctuary Abu el-^cAûf two kilometres West-South-West of Seilûn. In es-Sittîn; the building farthest to the South-East of the ground, we undertook smaller soundings, partly to discover the character of the building, partly to ascertain its chief dimensions and certain other particulars. As was already known, the interior of the building was carried by four columns with Corinthian capitals, part of which are still preserved. As mentioned above, they belong to the basilica, and consequently the last restoration of the interior of the building no doubt took place in the seventh century A.D. The interior is, and has probably always been, square (8.75 m). It is rather precisely oriented on the diagonal of the cardinal points of the compass, with a wide arc or small apse in the South wall (East-South-East). This arc must certainly in the last use of the building be regarded as a *mihrab*. It is, however, comparatively wide and deep (1.50 m wide, 0.50 m deep), and does not seem to correspond to

the proportions of the older Mohammedan *mihráb*, which is rather flat, that is less deep. In the front corners of the arc there were three-quarter colonnettes, the bases of which were in rather good though simple style. In the centre (towards the North) there was a door, 1.60 m broad, over which the famous relief, which is now lying on the ground, was the lintel, as we learn from older pictures.

In the western side wall an opening was discovered, the upper part of which had long been visible. It proved to be a window (1.02 m high, 0.74 m wide) with anterior groove. The lintel of this window is no doubt a bar-pillar taken from the "Pilgrims' Church," and thus the dating of the building in its last form to the middle of the seventh century seems confirmed. Several things indicated that this window had later been filled in. It is impossible to explain a part of a totally disengaged pillar, which stood, turned upside down, in the southern arc (*mihráb*). It was a rather slender column, 0.20 m in diameter at the top and at the base, where there is a sort of knot or thickening, 0.235 m wide. Fragments of a similar column are to be seen in the North, one of these fragments being built into the wall. At the top the column in the *mihráb* showed a fracture surface.

In this last form the room was vaulted with nine arches. The corbels are still seen in the East wall, 2.45-2.55 m above the floor. The floor was of earth with a few small stones. The walls showed remains of a white plaster an inch thick with a few pink spots. It had often been renewed.

The strange exterior buttresses are no doubt measures to prevent the building from collapsing. Also in the East wall there are traces that it has been supported by an interior layer of hewn stones, the wall, which had formerly been 0.60 m thick, becoming thus about 1 m thick. The filling-in of the West window seems also to have been undertaken in order to make the building more solid.

Thus there are signs that the last shape of this building was not the original one. If it is a sanctuary which Islam has taken over from earlier times, it is, however, hardly a church, but more probably a synagogue; e.g. like the one which Dr. Sukenik uncovered in 1929 at Beth Alpha with a mosaic representing the zodiac.

It was also square, with an arc in the direction of Jerusalem. (See *Die Umschau*, 1930).



Fig. 42. Jâmi' es-Sittîn, from the North.

With regard to the Jâmi' es-Sittîn I should further remark that it was undoubtedly this building which Isbaq Chelo saw in the fourteenth century at "Sailoh" and characterizes at the tomb of Eli and his two sons, Hophni and Phineas, "a very remarkable monument, where Jews and Mussulmans burn candles." The small rooms East (N.E.) of the building, which were no doubt the quarters of of the guard, were not closely examined. The "Jâmi' es-Sittîn" is one of the many puzzles of Seilûn; but if it originally was a Jewish synagogue, which was altered by the Mussulmans for the use of Islam, our facts are growing fairly consistent. Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan characteristics begun to form an entirety, in accordance with the traditions of the place.

The Tomb-Cistern

Lastly I shall mention another piece of research which apparently throws light on the date of the last destruction of Seilûn and at

the same time supplies some other valuable information. The object of investigation was what we have called the "tomb-cistern." Its position is seen in Pl. I, only about 20 m north of Mughâret el-ʿAsad, 35-40 m from the Pilgrims' Church. It was a rather peculiar construction with a main grave in the South, partly uncovered, the entrance from the North, and in front of this a sort of open atrium, if one may venture to call it so, which was 10-11 m long, in the North 7, at the entrance to the grave (South) only 5 m wide, cut down into the rock about 1.5 m. This "atrium" had apparently been originally a stone-quarry. Traces of excisions were evident in the flat bottom and are indistinctly seen in Fig. 43.

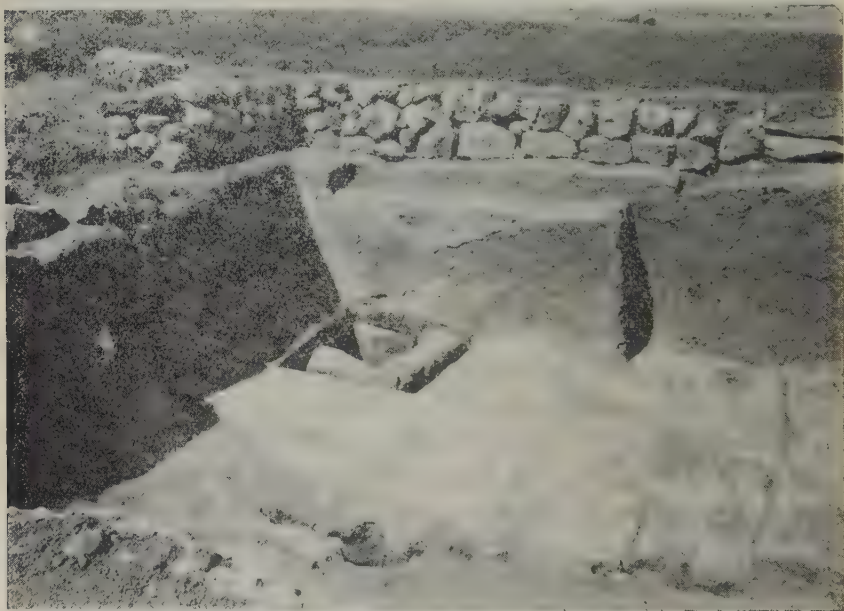


Fig. 43. The Tomb-Cistern. Entrance ("Atrium") and side tomb. To the left is the entrance to the main tomb. (The stone wall on the top is of recent date.)

When the quarry was made the hall of the tomb, it was, however, somewhat reshaped. Nearest to the vertical front of the new building the side walls were almost worked into the form of high stone benches (cf. Fig. 43), about 1 m high, 0.40-0.44 m broad, and these were, as also the South front, covered with plaster, about 1 cm thick, hardly ever renewed.

The entrance to the above tomb was, as seen in Fig. 43, semi-circular. At the front, there was a square incision for the closing stone which stood in front of a later-built side tomb towards the West, near the main tomb, but with deeper floor. The upper part of the rock was here full of holes and crevasses so that it had been necessary to cut deeper into the rock in order to form a tolerably regular room. This was closed by the door-stone from the main room and afterwards secured by two heavy stones, which are seen at angles with each other in Fig. 43. Before the excavation everything was half covered with stones and earth, part of which dated from antiquity, from Roman and Byzantine times. In a crevice in the flat bottom we found a coin from the Jewish revolt, 67-68 A.D.

Unfortunately the examination of the promising side tomb was a disappointment. We found a skeleton, almost bent double, partly resting on the right side, the upper part of the body resting on the back. But sepulchral gifts were wanting. In the hardened earth with which the tomb was filled, there were many Roman and Byzantine potsherds. These at least fix a rather late date for the skeleton. It is hardly the original tomb, and the position of the skeleton might even indicate Arab times. The position of the skull could not be ascertained, as it was much decayed.

The bottom of the main room is about 1 m lower than the bottom of the entrance. This is 0.65 m high by 0.50 m wide. The tomb is situated at an oblique angle to the entrance. It is rather considerable, about 2.30 by 2.00 m in area and almost 3 m high at the highest place, that is only in the centre. The ceiling is vaulted in shape, the floor tolerably even. In the South wall there are four narrow *kokim*, in the West walls two more, all for individual graves. In the ceiling there is now a wide opening, measuring 1.70 by 1.50 m, which is hardly original, but dates from a later use as a cistern after the removal of all skeletons. Plaster, which was still preserved at some places, is probably also from this later period, of which we also found other traces.

At the last the room had been used for quite a different purpose. Here was another of the surprises so frequent during the excavations at Shiloh. It was discovered that the lower part of the room was

full of charcoal in depth up to 0.70 m, deepest at the entrance.¹ Thus there were from one to two cubic metres of charcoal in the room, or rather of wood burnt to coal. Numerous pieces were still rather large. There were pieces up to 0.38-0.77 m in length and so well preserved that proofs could be taken by means of plaster casts, to serve as direct evidence of this strange discovery, to be exhibited both in the Palestine Museum and in Copenhagen.



Fig. 45. Charred Wood in the Kiln. (Photo. Dr. Aage Schmidt).

The wood was in part rather massive, two larger pieces being 0.18 and 0.22 m through. (Cp. Fig. 45 showing a preparation from the centre of the layer.) Here and there we found small cavities. At the bottom there were several very small fragments and powder. Underneath there was a layer of stone.

It is impossible that this was a store room for charcoal. Charcoal is so brittle that it cannot have been transported from another place without being broken. It can only be the very charcoal-pit, the

¹ Dr. AAGE SCHMIDT made the very difficult and troublesome excavation of the kiln.

place where the burning took place. And by this fact our case is rendered interesting.

Technically viewed, the room may very well have been used for charcoal-burning. The necessary weak draught could be let in through the entrance and out through the opening in the ceiling. The room was apparently especially suited to this use, and that charcoal-burning had actually taken place was confirmed by charred particles from the necessary covering of earth, which lay over the charcoal. Also the rock, especially at the entrance, showed traces of the effects of fire.

It is of course impossible that wood should have been transported to Shiloh for the burning of charcoal. The charcoal affords indisputable evidence of a growth of trees in the immediate neighbourhood of Shiloh, where the terebinth at Jâmi' el-Yeteîm is now the only tree, and the eye must travel to distant mountain peaks in order to find real trees, while even low shrubs such as *keikab*, *arbustum*,¹ are only to be found far from the place. The herdsman of the town brought us a root of *keikab* with fresh shoots, but even this gnarled survival of the original vegetation had had to be fetched from a distance of several kilometres.

The wood was recognized partly as oak, partly as *keikab* by the Arabs. The Danish botanist, Dr. K. JESSEN, regrets not having sufficient comparative material for certain identification and confines himself to characterizing it as dating from foliage trees with fine pores.¹ The greater part of the pieces of charcoal which allowed a conclusion as to what part of the tree they belonged to were thicker or thinner branches. The growth of the wood had been very irregular, no doubt dependent upon the great fluctuations in the amount of rainfall. Thus we found narrow annual rings of 0.04 cm side by side with rings of up to 0.5 cm in diameter. The wood had consisted chiefly of branches, and transport from distant places is no doubt out of the question. Thus the charcoal-kiln has afforded evidence of a *growth of trees in the immediate neighbourhood of Shiloh*.

It is desirable that the date of the abandonment of the charcoal-kiln should be determined. It is evident that the kiln was suddenly abandoned. Something happened with the result that the kiln

¹ Specimens have been forwarded to the Hebrew University at Jerusalem.

was not only deserted, but also forgotten, otherwise the inhabitants would hardly have suffered the charcoal, which represented value, to remain unused. It was altogether forgotten that there was charcoal in the room. The explanation is probably that the whole place was deserted by all inhabitants. On this hypothesis there is possibility of fixing the time, when the surroundings of Shiloh had still a considerable growth of trees. It is at least very likely that this was identical with the time of the last destruction of Shiloh, presumably about 1300 A.D. At this time building at Shiloh, according to our results from 1926, ceased, never to begin again.

As a supplement to the results of the excavation campaign of 1929 stated above I should like to call attention to the fact that a rather large amount of fragments of cockle-shells have been found. The greater part seems to be fossil, and to have been brought to the place from distant tracts. Dr. SPAERCK has found:

a *Strombus* — now chiefly known from the Red Sea.

a *Cassis* — much like *cassis undulata*, which now lives in the Mediterranean; but is also found as a fossil from Miocene times.

a *Murex* — much like the *murex Blainvilli* still found in the Mediterranean, but also as a fossil.

a *Spondylus* — *Radula*.

Most of the shells belong to sweet-water mussels of the *Anodonta* family; they have probably come from the Jordan Valley. Some of them have apparently been perforated and used as charms. The rest have presumably formed material for the making of ornaments, of which, however, no complete specimen was found.

Concerning the animal bones it is worth noticing that swine (*sus scrofa dom.*) have been found in several cases. The greater part belongs to the domestic animals still generally found in Palestine. Interesting are the dog bones, but the scope of this work does not allow me to give details about them. M. DEGERBOEL has given a detailed statement on this subject.

The wood was chiefly pine. We gathered some fossils, which after a provisional examination at the Mineralogical Museum of the University were found to date from the upper chalk, or Cretaceous, probably the Cenoman, layer.¹

¹ Later on I had a letter on this matter from Prof. M. BLANCKENHORN, Marburg with details. The whole collection is from middle Cenoman.

I have stated the most important results of the Danish excavations at Shiloh. My statement is rather elaborate; but the general importance of the place and the unexpectedly multifarious and interesting results of our research should account for that.

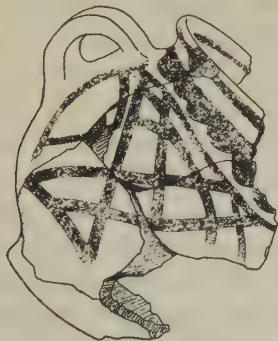


Fig. 46.

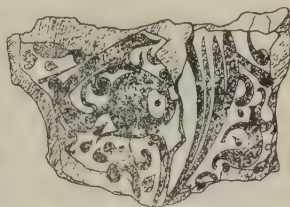


Fig. 47.

Figs. 46-47. Fragments of vessels from house C, inside the city wall, presumably from the last period of Shiloh. The figures in 47 are covered with glazing. (In the Palestine Museum). Drawings by Svend Beck, the architect.

It seems indisputable that the campaign in Shiloh of 1929 has had important results. At this place I want to express my deepest gratitude to the Danes who, in spite of the not quite satisfying results of the first campaign, and in spite of my own hesitation with regard to the continuation of the work, trusted me with means for the new work. I also want once more to express my thanks to the Danish "Rask Oersted Fund," which has made the preparation of this provisional statement and its profuse number of illustrations possible, and last but not least to Professor McCown for his very careful help in giving this report its final shape.

It is true that in every regard the last excavation was the most important; but as a matter of fact the two campaigns are supplemental to each other. Through the excavations thus far undertaken we have on important points been able to reconcile archaeological facts with the accounts of the Old Testament with surprising accuracy. We have caught a glimpse of a town, Shiloh, which in any case existed between 1200 and 1050 B.C. and of its destruction through fire (by the Philistians) about 1050; and thus we see the reason why the ark of the covenant did not later return to Shiloh; the town

did not exist any longer. The victory at Ebenezer could not call the destroyed town to life. We have evidence that Shiloh then remained deserted for centuries; but that it rose again in Hellenistic times, about 300 B.C., and that the town afterwards existed up to the Middle Ages; Christian Shiloh has emerged from the impenetrable darkness, a Shiloh which the literary tradition in any case after Jerome does not know at all. Its Christian character is evident through two churches, the basilica and the "Pilgrims' Church," possibly also through a Jewish synagogue. Several as yet detached facts indicate that the place was holy from very ancient times, and we may hope that this evidence, the rock pond, the rock-basin of the open-air well, and the strange names of fields, by continued search may become still clearer. We have seen the Arabian conquest indicated by the burning of Christian sanctuaries, but at the same time the lasting respect for the holy place evidenced by the Arab tombs at the "Pilgrims' Church." Further we have followed the development of the Arabian settlers till they suddenly cease building about 1300 A.D. Through the material of natural history we have contributed to the knowledge of the fauna and flora of ancient times. Correctly interpreted there are numerous traces of daily life through the changing centuries, a subject which it has been impossible to treat in this short account.

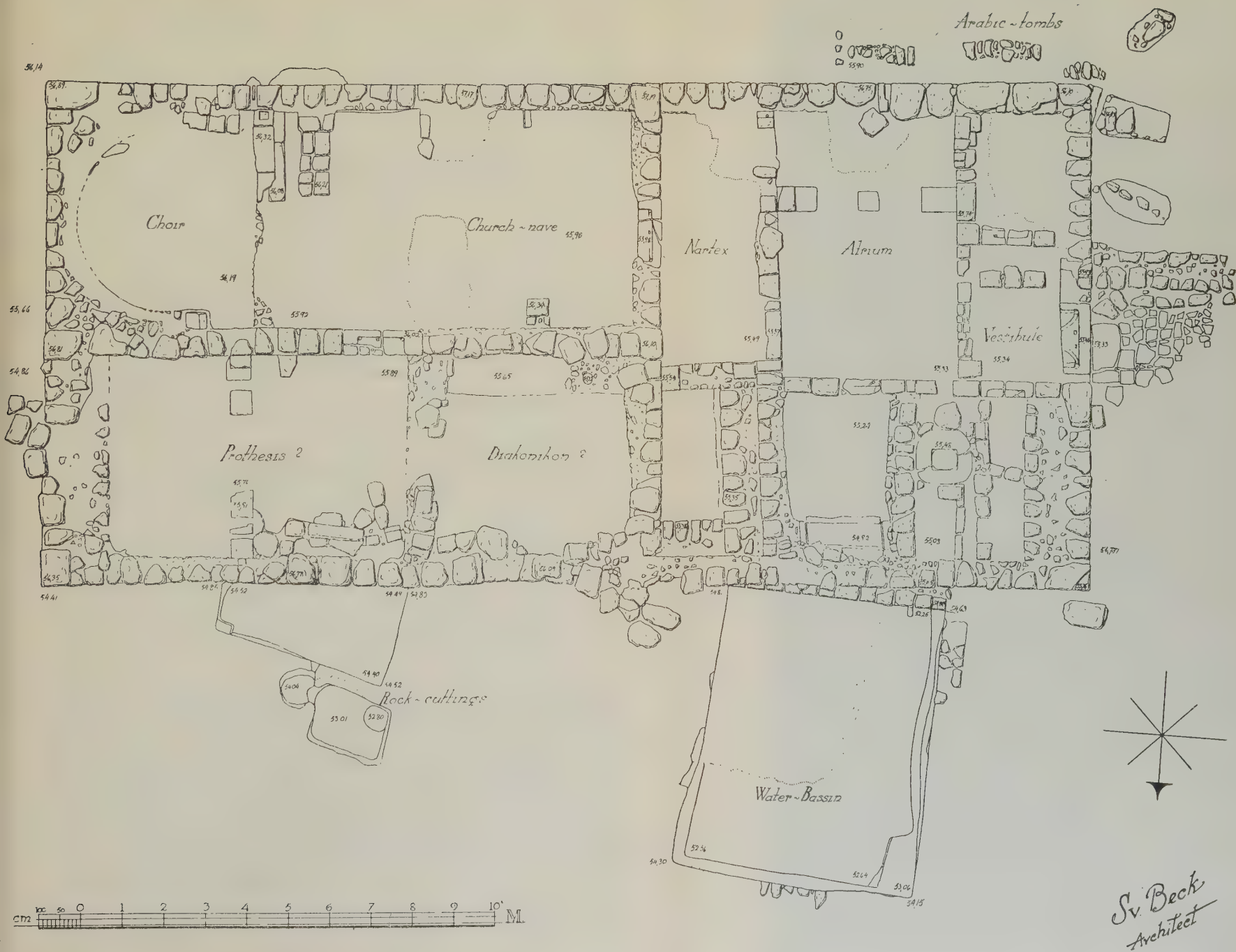
The body of evidence has only partly been stated in this work, and it must be admitted that on several points it is still too fragmentary. It is an important and most promising field of activity for the future work of the archaeologist.

May the work be carried on, and if possible under Danebrog, the Danish banner of the cross.

Copenhagen, National Museum, May 1930.

Translation by N. HAISLUND, M.A. and EDW. C. WOLFF, M.A.

PLAN III. PILGRIMS' CHURCH
(Pl. I. Basilica A a)



TWO REPRESENTATIONS OF PHALLI

DR. A. M. SCHNEIDER

(JERUSALEM)

In the present article I would like to make known to the public two monuments hitherto unnoticed which I discovered on the occasion of an excursion to Beitîn and eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh.

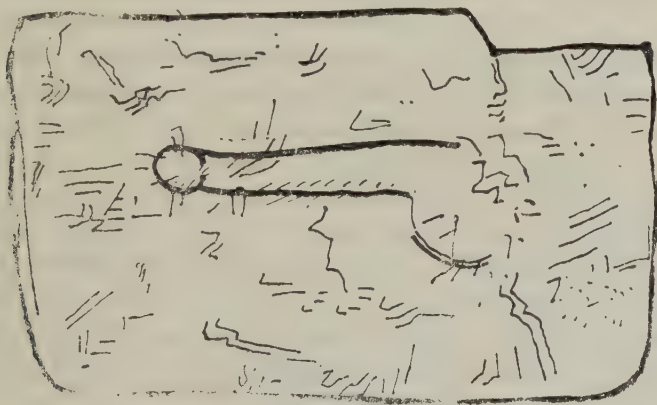


Figure 1

Number 1, is the representation of a *phallus* about 0.30 m in length looking to the left, somewhat roughly cut into a free stone. The stone is 0.90 m long and 0.55 m high and is in a terrace wall by the road side, a short distance from the ruin Burj Beitîn, about 500 m south-east of Beitîn.¹ The stone belongs, without any doubt, to the Temenos wall (probably Roman) which is a few meters distant. The stone in question would have been then an *apotropaion*

¹ *Survey of Western Palestine*, II, 307.

on the right hand side of the entrance. Representations of phalli—the most popular “*medicina invidiae*”¹—were not only carried as talismans,² but found their place also in gardens,³ on the gates of cities, and on public⁴ and private⁵ buildings.



Figure 2

Number 2, shows an engraved representation of a *vulva* and *phallus* on a neatly worked stone, 0.45 m in length and 0.22 m in height. Besides one can still see at one end of the stone a mutilated sign which I can not make out. The stone is built into a wall in the foremost part of the precincts of the monastery of el-Khaḍr near et-Taiyibeh⁶ (north-east of Beitân). It has evidently served the same purpose as Number 1 and should probably be ascribed to the late-Roman period.⁷ But the partly restored ruin of the church was dedicated to St. George, the successor of the “fertility demon,” el-Khaḍr.⁸ Lamps burning beside the apse prove that

¹ Plinius, *Nat. hist.*, 28, 39 (MAYHOFF IV, 289)

² Daremberg—Saglio, s.v. fascinum, IV, 986.

³ Plinius, *Nat. hist.*, 19, 4, 19 (MAYHOFF III, 260): „hortoque et foro tantum contra invidentium effascinationem dicari videmus in remedio saturica signa.” See also Priapeia 22.23.41, where also the other side of the defence is thrown into relief, namely the threat of returning evil for evil.

⁴ As in the theatre of Nîmes (*Journ. of Hell. Stud.*, IV, 315)

⁵ As in a baker's shop at Pompeii (*C.I.L.*, IV, 1454) and at the entrance to the casa dei Vettii.

⁶ *Survey*, II 307; ZDPV, 1894, 65.

⁷ The same representation is found also on the city gate of Lepcis Magna.

⁸ About this “fertility demon” and his absorption by George-Elias, see Kopp, *Elias und Christentum auf dem Karmel*, 1929, 68 ff. The invocations in the cave of Elias, in which according to K. are contained “die ständigen Bitten um bene-

the place is still venerated in our days. From this we can draw another explanation, namely that in Byzantine times this stone was put into the wall and served as a "fertility fetish" by contact with which sterile women hoped to obtain fertility. For in the fourth and fifth centuries the church had to fight over and over again against pagan superstitious ideas.¹ Hence the stone may have been manufactured perhaps only in Byzantine-Christian times. In that case it would have to be regarded as the last ramification of ancient Semitic ideas.²

dictio uberum et vulvae" are, however, no more than proskynemata. Of a petition for benedictio there is no question and the people of older times would not have hesitated to speak plainly in this matter.

¹ At St. Anne in Jerusalem there existed still in the Middle Ages a tree from which sterile women ate in order to get children. (PERDIKKAS, MIGNE, PG, 133, 964; see also *Vita Euthymii*, Koikylides, *Βίος καὶ πολιτεία Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Μεγάλου*, 1913, 88 and Chrysostomus, *In ep. ad Col. hom.*, 8,5 MIGNE, PG, 62, 357.

² See Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, 1927, 322 f.

ADDITIONS TO "STUDIES IN THE TOPOGRAPHY AND FOLKLORE OF PETRA"

T. CANAAN

(JERUSALEM)

During my last visit to Petra (on the 24, 25 and 26th March, 1930) I tried to verify the correctness of a few tophographical terms which were gathered during my stay in 1929 and published in my "Studies in the Topography and Folklore of Petra,"¹ but which were thought by some to be incorrect. The Bedouins who were asked on the spot verified all the terms. A few new place names and monument names were noted, and will be given here.

The Bedouins of *Eldji* - the *Liātneh* - speak collectively of the mountains of Petra as *el-haḡb*, *ʾanā nāḡil ʿal-haḡb* means I am going down to Petra. The classical Arabic word is written with a ض *ḡ*, but the *Liātneh* have always pronounced it as ظ *ḡ*. The expression stands in the classical language for an "isolated and depressed hill," "a mountain formed of one mass of rock,"² as well as for "an elongated naturally fortified and isolated mountain ridge,"³ an exact description of the natural formation of the mountains of Petra. The old name *salḥ* *سَلْح* is no longer known among the Bedouins of that region.⁴

A few *Liātneh* called the "Urn Tomb" *brābet Faṭṭīm*, to distinguish it from *ed-Dér*, which is generally known by the name *brābet*

¹ JPOS, IX, No. 3-4.

² HAVA, p. 821.

³ *Muḥīt el-Muḥīt*, p. 2180.

⁴ *Muḥīt*, 981 explains it as "a split in the mountain."

⁵ In the Bible Sela and Selah (II Kg. 14⁷; Is. 16⁴) are rendered in the Vulgate as "the Rock."

Faṭṭūneh. The appellation of *Faṭṭūm* to the "Urn Tomb" is not at all known to all Bedouins.

It is interesting to note that the Bedouin guides have picked up some scientific names from the European tourists, names which are at present used by them in their Arabic translation. Thus the "Soldier's tomb" (tomb of the statues)¹ in *wādi Farasah* is called *qabr el-askarī* and the "Latin tomb" by the name *qabr el-Hākim*.

The southern part of *rudjm Umm Šnēdiq* which slopes down to the bed of *wādi Mūsā* is called *mazbalet umm Šnēdiq* as well as *fāḥūret umm Šnēdiq*. I believe that Dalman, who mentions also the second name, is correct in assuming that the latter expression is not old but a newly coined one. It derives its name from the enormous quantity of potsherds scattered all around.

Two *Liāṭneh* assured me that the valley called *wādi Umm Zuq'eqah* is also known by the name *wādi er-Ramlah*. This expression was also mentioned, as stated in my "Studies, etc.," by Prof. Dalman. It is easy to explain the origin of this name, for to the north of the valley and separating it from *wādi Umm Šēḥūn* rises the sandy hill of *er-Ramlah*.

The *'awliā* buried at the sanctuary of *el-Fuqarā* at *ʿēn Amān* are also called *el-bauwāt*, البوّات. I could not find any explanation for this expression.

Dr. Albright kindly gave me in a private letter the following explanation of *es-Siq*, which explanation is published with his permission.

"The question of the etymology of the word *Siq* (سبّيق), the local Arab name of the entrance gorge of Petra, is particularly interesting to the philologist, as the following observations will show. The word *siq* appears to be a survival from an older Semitic tongue, presumably Edomite, and to have meant originally "gorge." The verbal stem appears in Arabic as *dyq* (دبّق), whence *maḍiq*, "gorge," in Hebrew as *šwq* (הַשִּׁיק, "pressed, made narrow"), whence Mishnaic *šūq*, "gorge," in Aramaic as *wq* or *yq*, in Ethiopic as *lōqa* (partial assimilation, for **dōqa*), and in Assyrian as *sāqu* (for *šāqu*, by dissimilation; the *s* and *š* fall together in the presence of *q*; cf.

¹ See Dalman, *Petra und seine Felsenheiligtümer*, p. 193, fig. 113 (No. 238).

BROCKELMANN, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, sections 55d and 88a). All these verbs are identified by all competent Semitic philologists; cf. especially Gesenius-Buhl and Brockelmann's *Lexicon Syriacum*, second edition. ss. vv. From Assyrian *sâqu*, *usîq* (pi'el), "be narrow, make narrow," is derived the adjective *sîqu*, "narrow," which is identical (disregarding the case-ending, lost in later Assyrian and present originally in all the Semitic languages) with our word *siq*, "gorge." Another derivative is *sîqu* "street," whence (through the northern, or specifically Assyrian branch of Accadian, which pronounced *s* as *š* and *š* as *s*, reversing the values of the sibilants) Aramaic *šûqâ*, "market," from which, again, is derived Arabic *šûq*, "market," by back-formation of the sibillant; see Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, p. 187 and Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter*, p. 43. One might suppose that *siq*, "gorge," was a loanword from Assyrian, but it is quite incredible to suppose that a word like "gorge" could have been borrowed from the plains of Mesopotamia to designate an Edomite gorge. The word cannot have been taken from Aramaic by the Nabataean Arabs after they settled at Petra, since Arabic *ḡad*=Hebrew *šade* always appears in Aramaic cognates as *ʿayin*. It is much more likely that there existed in Edomite the same dissimilated form *syq* (or *swq*), corresponding to Hebrew *šwq* (or **šyq*), as we have in Assyrian, by presumably of quite independent origin."

DAS VORDAVIDISCHE JERUSALEM

DR. B. MAISLER

(JERUSALEM)

Die älteste Geschichte Jerusalems und die Entstehung der Stadt gehören noch immer zu den schwierigsten Problemen der alten Geschichte Palästinas.

Die Bedeutung Jerusalems erhellt aus der günstigen Lage der Stadt als Knotenpunkt der vom Ostjordanlande nach dem südwestlichen Palästina und Ägypten führenden Strasse und der Verkehrsstrasse Sichem-Hebron. Ich kann ALBRECHT ALT keinesfalls recht geben, wenn er sagt: „Nicht der Natur verdankt Jerusalem seinen Vorrang im heutigen Palästina; die Geschichte hat es der Natur abgetrotzt, dass Jerusalem wurde, was es in unseren Tagen ist.“¹ Es kann vielmehr keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass Jerusalem seinen Aufstieg vor allem der ausgezeichneten Verkehrslage der Stadt und der festen Lage des Ophel zu verdanken hat.

I. JERUSALEM IN DEN „ÄCHTUNGSTEXTEN.“

Wie die Ausgrabungen von PARKER, VINCENT, MACALISTER und DUNCAN zeigen, existierte schon in der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jahrtausends eine Ansiedlung auf dem Osthügel Jerusalems; während die ägyptischen Funde aus der Zeit des Mittleren Reiches, die im Ophel zum Vorschein kamen,² darüber Zeugnis ablegen, dass um 2.000 v. Chr. herum Beziehungen zwischen Jerusalem und Ägypten bestanden haben.

¹ A. ALT, *Der Aufstieg Jerusalems*, ZDMG 1925 S. 6 f.

² S. MACALISTER and DUNCAN, *Excavations on the Hill of Ophel, Jerusalem* 1923-5 (PEF, Annual IV, 1926), S. 178.

In vielen Beziehungen ist aber von Bedeutung ein neulich zum Vorschein gekommenes ägyptisches Dokument.

In den von K. SETHE herausgegebenen sogen. „*Ächtungstexten*“¹ wird ein Ortsname 3wš3mm erwähnt, dessen Identität mit Jerusalem schon SETHE, dann auch DUSSAUD, ALT und neuerdings MALLON² und ALBRIGHT³ für möglich halten. Diese Identifikation scheint mir sprachlich berechtigt zu sein, denn auch sonst findet sich sowohl die Wiedergabe des *r* bzw. *l* mit äg. 3 (=א),⁴ wie auch die angehängte Mimation⁵ in der ägyptischen Umschrift semitischer Namen zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches. 3wš3mm ist somit die ägyptische Wiedergabe des semitischen א[ר]ש[ם]מ[ם].

Die Erwähnung Jerusalems — neben Ašqalon (ʿsq3nw) und anderen bedeutenderen Städten Syriens, Palästinas und Phöniziens in den „*Ächtungstexten*“ lässt die wichtige Rolle erkennen, die Jerusalem im politischen Leben Palästinas schon zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches gespielt hat.

2. DER NAME ירושלם.

Die Bedeutung des Namens ירושלם steht, trotz der öfters unternommenen Versuche ihn zu deuten, noch nicht fest. Nun kann es keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass Jerusalem in alter Zeit auch „Salem“ (שָׁלֵם) hiess, wie es aus Gen. 14¹⁸; Ps. 76³; JOSEPHUS, *Arch.* I, 10, 12 und Hebr. 5⁶ hervorgeht,⁶ d. h. also, dass man zur israelitischen Zeit in שָׁלֵם einen selbstständigen Bestandteil des Namens ירושלם erblickt hat.

¹ K. SETHE, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altäg. Tongefässen des Mittleren Reiches* (Abh. der Preuss. Akad. der Wissen., phil.-histor. Klasse 1926, No. 5); vgl. auch DUSSAUD, *Syria* VIII, S. 216 ff.; ALT, *Zeitschr. f. äg. Sprache* LIII (1927), S. 39 ff. und ALBRIGHT, *JPOS* VIII, S. 223 ff.

² *JPOS* VIII S. 1 ff.

³ a. a. O., S. 247 f.

⁴ S. ALBRIGHT, a. a. O., S. 230 u. ö.

⁵ Die an semitische Namen angehängte Mimation findet sich öfters in den ägyptischen Quellen des Mittleren Reiches, so in der Wiedergabe von שָׁכַם mit äg. SKMM in der Stele Sebekhus, im Namen Hb-ddm (neben Hb-dd, GARDINER, *JEA* III S. 13) usf. Die angehängte Mimation (dm bzw. am) ist, ebenso wie die Endung dn (bzw. an), für das Amoritische charakteristisch. Es handelt sich wohl um einen ursprünglichen status determinatus, wie schon J. LEWY, *Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.*, Neue Folge, II, S. 163 erkannt hat. S. B. MAISLER, *Unters. zur alten Gesch. Syriens und Palästinas*, S. 20.

⁶ Vgl. ED. KOENIG, *Genesis* 2 S. 475 f.

Bekanntlich heisst aber Jerusalem in den Amarna-Briefen und in den späteren assyrischen Quellen durchweg *Urusalim*(ma). Der erste Bestandteil des Namens, der hebr. ירו, lautet, wird somit in der Keilschrift mit *Uru* wiedergegeben. Dem keilschriftlichen *Urusalim* entspricht auch die ägyptische Wiedergabe des Namens mit 3wš3mm in den „*Ächtungstexten*.“ Die älteste Form des ersten Bestandteiles des Namens scheint also ירו = *Uru* gewesen zu sein, während ירו wohl die jüngere Form desselben Bestandteiles ist.

Nun hat FR. BOEHL¹ auf das Vorkommen der Stadt Jerusalem in einer assyrischen Götterliste aufmerksam gemacht. Es handelt sich um die Stelle KAV No 145 Rs. 6 + KAV No 73 Vs. 7, wo wir die folgende Gleichung finden:

^d Istar URU.SILIM.MA = Šul-ma-ni-tu.

Hier erscheint also die Göttin Šulmānītu also die Istar der Stadt Urusilimma.²

Šulmānītu ist die Gemahlin des in Assyrien verehrten Gottes Šulmānu (= westsem. שלמן), der mit dem westsemitischen (amoritischen) Gott Šalem (שלם)³ identisch ist, während Šulmānītu, wie schon BOEHL hervorgehoben hat, einer westsemitischen שלמית entsprechen dürfte. Aus dieser Quelle scheint hervorzugehen, dass das Götterpaar Šalem und Šulmānītu—Šulamith die Patronen der Stadt Jerusalem waren. Man könnte ferner darin ein Argument für die Annahme erblicken, dass in ירושלם = *Urusalim* der Gottesname שלם als theophorer Bestandteil enthalten ist, eine Annahme die noch dadurch an Wahrscheinlichkeit gewinnt, dass David, der Jerusalem restauriert hat (s. unten), seinen beiden Lieblingssöhnen Namen mit dem theophoren Bestandteil שלם beigelegt hat, nämlich dem אבישלם und dem שלמיה.

Nun ist es aber fraglich, ob in der obenerwähnten assyrischen Götterliste mit *Urusilimma* wirklich Jerusalem gemeint sei. Es besteht nämlich auch die Möglichkeit, dass es sich da um eine Stadt im Zweistromlande handelt; denn in *Uru* könnte man ohne weiteres

¹ Acta Orientalia I S. 76 ff.

² S. auch Chiera, *Lists of Pers. Names from the Temple School of Nippur* XI, 1 (1916) 4, IV, 2; 6 Obv. 1: Uru-silim; 4, IV, 3; 6 Obv. 2: Uru-silim-mu; 4, IV, 4; 6 Obv. 3: Uru-silim-gal.

³ S. ZIMMERN, KAT³ S. 474 f.

das sumerische Wort für „Stadt“ erblicken, während Uru (ורו) = ירו im Namen Urusalim = ירושלם vielmehr aus dem Westsemitischen abzuleiten ist.¹ Man hat ja auch in ירו eine verbale Form vermutet, so letzstens ALBRIGHT,² der ירושלם mit „God Salim has founded“ übersetzt. Es sei noch darauf aufmerksam gemacht, das ירו in ירושלם irgendwie mit dem ersten Bestandteil der Namen ירובקע (Jud. 7¹ u. ö.) und ירואל (II. Chr. 20¹⁶) zusammenhängt.³

Wie es auch sei, die Bedeutung des ersten Bestandteil es ירו = Uru im Namen ירושלם ist noch vorläufig dunkel; dagegen scheint mir unzweifelt zu sein, dass im zweiten Bestandteil der Name des amoristischen Gottes Šalem steckt und somit auch, dass Jerusalem von den Amoritern begründet wurde und zwar als Kultstätte des Gottes Šalem.

3. DAS VORDAVIDISCHE JERUSALEM IN DEN BIBLISCHEN QUELLEN.

Wenden wir uns nunmehr den biblischen Quellen zu, so gewinnen wir aus ihnen den Eindruck, dass Jerusalem schon lange vor David ein wichtiges politisches und religiöses Zentrum war.

In der Überlieferung über die Eroberung Mittelpalästinas (Jos. 10), die uns Ereignisse aus dem 15. Jahrh. vor Augen zu führen scheint,⁴ erscheint Jerusalem als Metropole eines Stadtstaaten-Komplexes des südlichen Palästina, so dass, als es zu Kämpfen mit den eingewanderten Israeliten kam, der König Adonisedeq von Jerusalem an der Spitze einer Koalition südpalästinischer Fürsten stand.⁵

¹ Dies hat schon CLAY, JPOS I S. 28 ff. richtig erkannt.

² JPOS VIII, S. 248.

³ Doch ist zu beachten, dass *uru* auch im Sumerischen „gründen“—ferner „Grund“ (= akkadisch *ušu*), „Wohnung“, „Stadt“—bedeutet. Vgl. Delitzsch, *Summer, Glossar* (1914) S. 50.

⁴ Die ältere Auffassung, wonach die Einwanderung der Israeliten um 1200 v. Chr. herum stattgefunden hat, wird letzstens mit Recht angezweifelt. M. E. ist die israelitische Einwanderung ins Westjordanland in zwei Wellen vor sich gegangen: 1. in die der Nordstämme (Issachar, Zebulon, Ascher, Naphtali), die schon vor 1500 v. Chr. den Jordan (bei Adam?) überschritten und im nördlichen Palästina Fuss gefasst haben, 2. in die der Josephstämme (Ephraim, Makir und Benjamin), die im 15. Jahrh. den Jordan bei Jericho überschritten und Teile Mittelpalästinas erobert haben.

⁵ Die historische Glaubwürdigkeit dieser Quelle wurde von ED. MEYER, *Israeliten* S. 439 f. zu Unrecht angezweifelt. S. aber KITTEL, *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel* ⁶ II S. 431; HERTZBERG, JPOS VI S. 214 f. und MAISLER, *Untersuchungen* I S. 49 f. Es kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass Jos. 10¹⁻¹⁵ eine historische Überlieferung zu Grunde liegt.

Anderseits erscheint Jerusalem schon in alter Zeit als bedeutendes religiöses Zentrum. Zwar ist die jüdische Tradition, wonach mit der Opferstätte ארץ המורה (Gen. 22² = הר יהודה, Gen. 22¹⁴) der Tempelplatz gemeint sei, ziemlich zweifelhaft.¹ Ebenso scheint mir der Versuch von SAYCE, H-r-'i-r (= הרֹאֵר), welches in der Liste Thutmosis III. vorkommt,² mit הר יהודה in Gen. 22¹⁴ zusammenzustellen,³ jeder Grundlage zu entbehren.

Dagegen kann man, trotz der häufig geäußerten Bedenken,⁴ mit ziemlicher Sicherheit annehmen, dass Malkiſedeq, der König von Šalem, sowohl in Gen. 14¹⁸, wie in Ps. 110⁴ als Priesterkönig von Jerusalem gedacht, d. h. also, dass in Gen. 14¹⁸ mit Šalem die Stadt und die Kultstädte Jerusalem gemeint ist (s. oben). In Gen. 14¹⁸⁻²⁰ welches wir als alte Quelle ansehen dürfen,⁵ erscheint Šalem als Kultzentrum des אֵל עֵלִיִן, dessen Priester gleichzeitig König von Šalem ist. Ebenso wie in Bethel (vgl. Gen. 28²²) wurde auch in Šalem an den Priester des אֵל עֵלִיִן das Zehnte abgeliefert (Gen. 14²⁰ b). Sowohl in Gen. 14¹⁸⁻²⁰ wie in Ps. 110 ist Melkiſedeq als Priesterkönig gedacht, als dessen Rechtsnachfolger sich die späteren Könige von Juda zu betrachten pflegten.

Es kann mir ferner nicht zweifelhaft sein, dass der Tempel Jahwes an derselben Stätte erbaut wurde, wo sich früher das Heiligtum des אֵל עֵלִיִן, der wohl mit Šalem identisch ist, befand. Es ist also anzunehmen, dass nach der Eroberung von Jerusalem durch David, die alte Kultstätte auf dem ḥaram-eš-ſerif für das zentrale israelitisch-jüdische Heiligtum ausersehen wurde. Ebenso wie in Gibeon, Bethel usw. wurde also auch in Jerusalem die alte Kultstätte der autochthonen Bevölkerung zum Heiligtum Jahwes ausersehen.

Die Erzählung II. Sam. 24¹⁶⁻²⁵ wonach David als erster einen Altar auf dem ḥaram eš-ſerif erbaute, gehört zu denjenigen historisch wertlosen Legenden, in denen die Errichtung berühmter palästinischer Heiligtümer und Altäre auf israelitische Helden und

¹ S. BOEHL, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer* S. 53; PROCKSCH, *Genesis* 2. Aufl. S. 315.

² No 81.—S. Paton, *Egypt. Rec. of Travel* IV S. 81.

³ SAYCE, *Quarterly Statement*, Oct. 1927 S. 210 f.

⁴ S. insbes. HERTZBERG, *JPOS* VIII S. 189 ff.

⁵ Über Gen. 14 s. vor allem BOEHL, *ZAW* 1916 S. 65 ff., 1924 S. 148 ff.; JIRKU, *Altor. Kommentar zum AT* S. 57 ff.; ALBRIGHT, *JPOS* I S. 68 ff., II S. 129; *Journ. of Bibl. Liter.* XLIII (1924) S. 385 ff. und PROCKSCH, *Genesis* 2. St.

Patriarchen zurückgeführt wird (vgl. Gen. 12^{6,9}; 35^{1 ff.}; Jud. 6²⁴; I. Reg. 18^{31 ff.} usw.).

4. JERUSALEM IN DEN AMARNA-BRIEFEN.

Die bedeutende Rolle, die Jerusalem um 1400 v. Chr. gespielt hat, erhellt aus den Amarna-Briefen.

In der Korrespondenz von Tell el-Amarna sind 6 Briefe von Abdiḥiba, dem Fürsten von Jerusalem, erhalten geblieben (EA 285-290¹); sonst wird Jerusalem nur noch in den Briefen des Fürsten Šuwardata erwähnt (EA 280; AO 7.096²).

Aus den Briefen Abdiḥibas geht hervor, dass das Gebiet von Jerusalem (mātu [ālu] Urusalim „das Land [der Stadt] Urusalim“) ein ziemlich grosses Territorium umfasste. Der Fürst Milkili von Gazri (=Gezer) und der Fürst Šuwardata von Kilti (=קִיְי־ר, jetzt Hirbet Qilā) erscheinen als die nächsten Nachbarn Abdiḥibas im Westen und Südwesten, mit denen er fortwährend in Fehde steht.³ Wie aus EA 290,14-16 hervorgeht, gehörte im Südem Bethlehem zum Gebiet von Jerusalem.⁴ In Norden grenzte es an das Gebiet des Fürsten Labaja, der in Sichem residiert zu haben scheint und über einen ausgedehnten Teil des Gebirges Ephraim geherrscht hat. Wir sehen, Jerusalem war zur Amarna-Zeit die Residenz eines ziemlich grossen Gebietes im Zentrum Palästinas, während der Fürst von Jerusalem eine nicht unbedeutende Rolle im politischen Leben Mittel- und Südpalästinas gespielt hat. Šuwardata beschwert sich über ihn folgendermassen:

¹ Die Zitate nach der Ausgabe von KNUDZON, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, 1907 ff.

² Thureau-Dangin, *Rev. d'Assyr.* XIX (1922) S. 98 f.

³ vgl. EA 290,5 ff.; 289, 11 ff. Abdiḥiba beschwert sich fast in allen seinen Briefen, dass die Fürsten der Gebiete westlich von Jerusalem vom Pharao abgefallen seien und sich mit den Ḥabiru verbündet hätten. Nur Abdiḥiba ist dem Pharao treu geblieben. Deshalb geht es ihnen gut, während Abdiḥiba viel von seinen Feinden zu leiden habe. So sind auch die — von KNUDZON zweifellos falsch übersetzten — Stellen EA 287, 11-12 und 288, 26-28 zu verstehen. EA 288, 26-28 heisst es: „adi māṭati Šērī adi (ālu) Gintikirmil šalum ana gabbi (amēlūtu) ḥazianūti u nukurtu ana jāsi.“ Ich übersetzte diese Stelle: „Von (! eigentlich: bis zu) den Gebieten (der Stadt) Šērī bis (zur Stadt) Gintikirmil geht es allen Statthaltern gut, nur gegen mich ist Feindschaft.“ Šērī ist m. E. identisch mit שַׁרְיָה (I. Chr. 4³¹; I. Sam. 17⁶²; Jos. 19⁶: שַׁרְיָה = aeg. Šrh), jetzt Tell Šariḥ (s. ALBRIGHT, JPOS IV S. 158). Ginti ist wohl mit Gitt, welches bei Plinius (*Hist. nat.* V, 18, 74) als „Getta am Karmel“ erwähnt wird, identisch.—Vgl. neuerdings Jirku, ZDPV 1930 S. 143.—Von Šērī (= שַׁרְיָה) bis Gintikirmil ist somit eine Bezeichnung für das westliche Palästina.

⁴ s. SCHROEDER, OLZ 1915 Sp. 294 f.

„...Labaja, der genommen hatte unsere Städte, ist tot, aber siehe, ein anderer Labaja ist Abdiḥiba und er nimmt unsere Städte“ (E A 280, 30-34), und aus einer anderen Stelle erfahren wir sogar, dass Abdiḥiba auch Kilti erobert hat (E A 280, 21-24).

Im Kampf mit den Ḥabiru und den ägypterfeindlichen Fürsten nahm Abdiḥiba einen hervorragenden Anteil, wie es aus dem Brief A O 7.096 hervorgeht: „Der König, mein Herr, möge erfahren, dass alle meine Brüder mich verlassen haben. (Nur) ich und Abdiḥiba (führen) Krieg gegen die SA. GAZ (=Ḥabiru) und Zurata, der Fürst von Akko und Eandaruta, der Fürst von Akšap, sind Helfer mit fünfzig Streitwagen bei mir.“¹

5. DIE ÄLTESTE BEVÖLKERUNG JERUSALEMS.

Die biblischen Quellen haben die Erinnerung daran aufbewahrt, dass die Amoriter die älteste Bevölkerung Jerusalems gebildet haben. So erfahren wir aus dem Bericht über die Eroberung Mittelpalästinas, dass sowohl Adonišedeq, der König von Jerusalem, sowie seine Bundesgenossen Amoriter waren (Jos. 10^{5.6.12}).— Der Name Adonišedeq ist—ebenso wie der Name Malkišedeq—echt amoritisch.²

Auch nach der Einwanderung der Josephstämme ist zwischen diesen und dem südlichen Palästina ein Keil amoritischer Städte geblieben, von denen die meisten bis David unabhängig blieben.³ So erfahren wir aus Jud. 1^{34.35} (vgl. auch I. Sam. 7¹⁴), dass zur Richterzeit die Städte Ajalon, Har-Ḥeres und Ša'albim amoritisch waren,⁴ während in Gibe'on die Amoriter noch zur Zeit Davids gegessen haben.⁵

¹ Vgl. ALT, *Palästinajahrbuch* XX (1924) S. 27.

² Malkišedeq und Adonišedeq erinnern insbesondere an die amoritischen Namen aus Babylonien (das Material hat Th. BAUER, *Ostkanaanäer* [1925] systematisch geordnet). Est ist beachtenswert, dass *Malkišedeq* ganz und gar dem altbabylonischen Namen *Šarrukēn* („der König [ist] legitim“) entspricht. Da die Gestalt von Sargon den alten Einwohnern Palästinas zweifellos bekannt war („šarrtamḥari-Epos“!), so ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, dass „Malkišedeq“ eine amoritische Übersetzung des Namens „Šarrukēn“ darstellt.

³ Vgl. ALT, *Die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palästina* (1925) S. 17 f.

⁴ Dieses Gebiet erscheint I. Reg. 4⁹ als der zweite Gau Solomos. Vgl. ALT, *Alttest. Studien für R. Kittel* S. 15.

⁵ Die meisten Gelehrten (ED. MEYER, *ZÄW* 1881 S. 126; BOEHL, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer* S. 59; BURNEY, *Israel's Settlement in Canaan* [1918] S. 22 u. a.) reden fälschlich von einem „kanaanäischen“ statt von einem amoritischen Keil zwischen Süd- und Mittelpalästina. S. meine „*Untersuchungen*“ I S. 49 f.

Wenn ferner Ezechiel den „Vater“ Jerusalems einen *Amoriter* nennt (Ez. 16^{3.45}), so hat er wohl das richtige Gefühl dafür, dass die Amoriter die autochthone Bevölkerung Jerusalems gebildet haben.

Nun hat man schon öfters nachzuweisen versucht, dass in Jerusalem zur Amarna-Zeit Hethiter wohnten, und dass insbesondere der Fürst Abdiḫiba ein Hethiter war. P. DHORME hat vorgeschlagen, das Ideogramm ARAD in Namen ARAD-Ḫiba nicht westsemitisch *‘Abd*, sondern hethitisch *Arta* zu lesen. Noch weiter ging JIRKU,¹ der die Vermutung aussprach, dass es in Jerusalem zur Amarna-Zeit eine hethitische Kolonie gab. Diese Annahme scheint mir aber jeder Grundlage zu entbehren, denn sowohl die Tatsache, dass überhaupt zur Amarna-Zeit von Hethitern in Palästina keine Rede sein kann,² wie auch die zahlreichen westsemitischen Glossen in den Briefen Abdiḫibas, die erkennen lassen, dass Abdiḫiba sich der westsemitischen Sprache bedient hat, dagegen sprechen.³

Aber auch die Auffassung, die seit GUSTAVS, OLZ 1911 Sp. 341 ff. die herrschende ist, dass der Name ARAD-Ḫiba hurritisch (subarisch) *Puti*-Ḫiba zu lesen sei, kann von mir nicht akzeptiert werden. Es ist zwar Tatsache, dass sich zahlreiche hurritische Elemente in der Kultur Syrien-Palästinas zur Amarna-Zeit erkennen lassen.⁴ Die Hurriter bildeten seit der ersten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrhunderts die Grundbevölkerung Nordsyriens und Mesopotamiens. In Südsyrien und Palästina haben sich aber die Ausläufer der hurritischen Wanderschicht der autochthonen amoritischen Bevölkerung assimiliert, verliehen aber ihrerseits der amoritischen Bevölkerung

¹ ZDPV 1920 S. 58 ff., s. ferner PROCKSCH, *Genesis* (passim).

² S. UNGNAD, *Kulturfragen* I S. 7; GUSTAVS, ZDPV 1927 S. 14; MAISLER, *Untersuchungen* I S. 76. Auch in den Ta’anak-Tafeln (HROZNY bei SELIN, *Tell Ta’anek* S. 113 und *Nachlese* S. 36 ff., dazu GUSTAVS in ZDPV 1927-28) kommen keine hethitischen Namen vor. Auch die von GUSTAVS ZDPV 1928 S. 172 ff. als „hethitisch“ angesprochenen Namen Ilulu (No 4 Vs. 3) und Baduna (No 4 Hs. 13) sind echt semitisch. Baduna entspricht dem Bibl. בְּדָנָה (I. Sam. 12¹¹; I. Chr. 7¹⁷), Ilulu den akkad. Illulu (hebr. אִלּוּל).

³ Es kommt noch hinzu, dass die hurritische Göttin Ḫiba—wie schon UNGNAD bemerkt hat—hethitisch Ḫepe heisst.

⁴ Über die Hurriter (Subarer) s. UNGNAD, *Kulturfragen* I S. 5 ff.; LEWY, *Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.*, N.F. I S. 144 ff.; LANDSBERGER, ebenda, S. 228 ff.; BILABEL, *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Ägyptens* (1927) S. 251 f.; Chiera u. Speiser, AASOR VI (1926) S. 75 ff.; GUSTAVS, *Reallex. der Vorg.* VIII S. 135 f. und MAISLER, *Untersuchungen* I S. 33 ff.

eine Anzahl charakteristischer Züge, vor allem in der Religion und in der Kunst.¹ Dies tritt auch ganz besonders in der Tatsache zum Vorschein, dass die hurritischen Gottheiten Tešup und Hiba im amoritischen Pantheon Aufnahme gefunden haben.² Von hier aus gewinnen wir auch die Möglichkeit, den Namen ARAD-Hiba zu erklären. Schon WEBER³ hat darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass der Vorschlag von GUSTAVS, diesen Namen *Arta-Hiba* zu lesen, zur Voraussetzung hat, dass in Jerusalem zur Amarna-Zeit Huritisch (nach WEBER: Mitannisch) gesprochen wurde, wofür wir aber keinen Anhaltspunkt in den Quellen haben, da uns Abdiḥiba vielmehr als Westsemit entgegentritt. Ausserdem ist zu beachten, dass auch in den Taʿanak-Tafeln ein Mann den Namen ARAD-Hiba trägt (No 7,7). Hätte man auch diesen Namen *Puti-Hiba* lesen müssen, so wären wir zur Annahme gedrängt, dass es zur Amarna-Zeit sowohl in Süd- wie in Nordpalästina eine Huritisch sprechende Schicht gab, wofür wir wiederum keinen Anhaltspunkt haben. Dies alles spricht dafür, dass das Ideogramm ARAD in ARAD-Hiba eher westsemitisch ʿAbd zu lesen ist. Die Gottheit Hiba kehrt als theophorer Bestandteil auch in einem biblischen Namen wieder. Ein aus dem amoritischen Šaʿalbön (=Šaʿalbir, Jud 1³⁵) stammender Krieger Davids trägt den Namen אֲדִיחִיבָּא (II Sam. 23³²). Dieser Name ist wohl אֲדִיחִיבָּא zu vokalisieren.⁴ In אֲדִיחִיבָּא lässt sich m. E. der hurritische Gottesname „Hiba“ erkennen, woraus ersichtlich ist, dass diese Gottheit bis in die späte Zeit hinein als theophorer Bestandteil von Eigennamen bei den Amoritern Mittelpalästinas verwendet wurde.

In Jerusalem mag Hiba mit der Šulamith, der Gattin des Gottes Šalem, identifiziert worden sein.

Unsere Annahme, dass Abdiḥiba und die Bewohner Jerusalems zur Amarna-Zeit Amoriter waren, scheint in jeder Hinsicht berechtigt zu sein. Dagegen kann zu dieser Zeit von Hethitern als Bewohnern Jerusalems keine Rede sein.

6. DIE JEBUSITER

Nun taucht zur „Richterzeit“ eine sicherlich nicht semitische

¹ S. MAISLER, a. a. O. S. 36 f., JPOS IX S. 87.

² Vgl. WEBER bei KNUDTZON, *Die Tell el-Amarna-Briefe* S. 1334; KITTEL, *Geschichte* ⁶ I S. 188.

³ a. a. O. S. 1134.

⁴ Die massoretische Vokalisation אֲדִיחִיבָּא ist sicherlich unrichtig.

Bevölkerung in Jerusalem auf, nämlich die „Jebusiter.“¹ Zugleich mit dem Auftreten dieser Bevölkerungsschicht wurde auch der semitische Name der Stadt in „Jebus“ umgeändert. So heisst die Stadt während der Richter- und im Anfang der Königszeit, vor der Eroberung Jerusalems durch David.²

Es ist bezeichnend, dass die Jebusiter ebenso den älteren Quellen unbekannt sind wie der Name „Jebus“ für Jerusalem. Erst in den geographischen Listen aus dem Anfang der Königszeit (Jos. 11³; Num. 13²⁰) und in der Völkertafel (Gen. 10¹⁶) werden sie neben anderen Völkern Palästinas als Bewohner des Gebirgslandes genannt. Aus alledem, was wir über sie aus den biblischen Quellen erfahren, ist zu ersehen, dass die Jebusiter keine Semiten waren. Dies geht schon aus der Tatsache hervor, dass sowohl der Name „Jebus“, wie derjenige des Jebusiters *Arawna* nicht semitisch sind.

Dass aber die Jebusiter ein hethitischer Stamm waren, geht aus folgendem hervor:

Ezechiel nennt in der oben behandelten Stelle (Ez. 16³⁻⁴⁵) die „Mutter“ Jerusalems eine „Hethiterin,“ womit er sicherlich hervorheben will, dass es in Jerusalem neben der autochthonen amoritischen Bevölkerung eine zugewanderte hethitische gab. Mit dieser können aber nur die Jebusiter gemeint sein. Ferner kann man mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit annehmen, dass der Name *Arawna* hethitisch ist.³ Asserdem ist wohl der Hethiter Urija als ein eingeborener Einwohner Jerusalems gedacht (vgl. II. Sam. 11⁹).⁴

Nun habe ich in meinen „*Untersuchungen*“ S. 77 ff. nachzuweisen versucht, dass die Abwanderung hethitischer Volkselemente nach Syrien-Palästina in Zusammenhang steht mit den Völkerwanderungen in Kleinasien um 1200 herum,⁵ und dass die Ausläufer der hethitischen Wanderschicht erst im Anfang der Richterzeit nach Palästina gelangt

¹ חיבוסי: Jud. 1²¹; II. Sam. 5^{6,8}; 24¹⁶ u. ö.

² יבוס: Jud. 19^{10,11}; I. Chr. 11⁵; כתר היבוסי: Jos. 15⁶; 18¹⁶; עיר היבוסי: Jud. 19¹¹.

³ Vgl. LANDERSDORFER, *Theologie und Glaube* 1923 S. 92; Burney, *Judges* 2 S. LXXXVI.

⁴ Auch der Name *Urija* scheint hethitisch zu sein, s. SCHROEDER, ZAW 1915 S. 247.

⁵ Über den Untergang des Hethiterreiches s. GOETZE, *Der Alte Orient* 27, 2 (1928) S. 42 f.

sind, also zu einer Zeit als es zu mehreren Invasionen nördlicher Völker kam, die eine ganze Anzahl fremder Volkselemente ins Land brachten.

Aus unseren Ausführungen dürfte wohl ersichtlich sein, dass sowohl in der ältesten Periode, sowie zur Amarna-Zeit und zur Zeit der Einwanderung der Josephstämme (15 Jht.) Jerusalem eine amoritische Stadt war. Das Auftreten der hethitischen Jebusiter als Bewohner Jerusalems erfolgte erst im Verlaufe der „Richterzeit,” und ist wohl durch die Invasion nördlicher Völker die im Anfang des 12. Jhts. begann, verursacht worden

Die Jebusiter blieben kaum zwei Jahrhunderte die Herren der Stadt. Erst David gelang es Jerusalem zu erobern¹ und den alten amoritischen Namen der Stadt zu restauriren, wobei er auch im Kult an amoritische Traditionen anknüpfte, indem er die alte Kultstätte des Šalem — אֵל עֶלְיִן für das Heiligtum Jahwes ausersehen hat. — Seitdem betrachteten sich auch die Könige von Juda als Rechtsnachfolger des amoritischen Priesterkönigs von Jerusalem, Malkiṣedeq (Ps. 110).

¹ Über die Eroberung der Stadt durch David s. DUNCAN, ZAW 1924 S. 222; VINCENT, Revue Biblique 1924 S. 357 ff.; Feather, Expos. Times XLI (1929-30) S. 140 f.

NOTES DE PREHISTOIRE PALESTINIENNE¹

R. NEUVILLE

(JÉRUSALEM)

II.- TELL MOUSTAH (Transjordanie)

Une note a déjà été publiée en 1929 sur ce tell,² dont seul le *Survey* avait jusque-là remarqué le caractère artificiel.³ La publication du P. Mallon, qui conclut à l'identification possible de cette ruine avec la Beth Nimrah biblique, nous dispense ici d'une description topographique. Ajoutons seulement que la base du tell se trouve à 170 mètres au-dessous du niveau de la Méditerranée.

Nous nous bornerons d'ailleurs à un examen rapide des quelques objets que nous avons recueillis dans une couche supérieure de la partie ouest du tell mise à vif par les travaux de réfection de la route d'*Amman*.

¹ Voir *J.P.O.S.*, X, 1930, p. 64.

² A. MALLON, *Notes sur quelques sites du Ghôr oriental*, dans *Biblica*, 1929, p. 96.

³ *Survey of Eastern Palestine*, p. 129.- M. Albright, qui a relevé, sur les lieux, les sites de l'âge du bronze dans la vallée du Jourdain, n'a pas remarqué *Tell Moustah*; il a pourtant visité *Tell Beleibil*, à quelques centaines de mètres au nord-ouest de notre ruine, et *Tell Nimrin*, à 1.100 mètres au sud-ouest (W. F. ALBRIGHT, *The Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age*, dans *Ann. Am. Sch. Or. Res.*, vol. VI, 1924-25, p. 48). Il est vrai que cet archéologue est passé "within a mile" de *Tell er-Râmeh* sans avoir pu le trouver; or, ce tell, bien exposé et d'une couleur claire qui le détache nettement de l'arrière plan montagneux, est le seul bien visible de toute la plaine orientale du Jourdain. De cette mésaventure, M. Albright déduit, quelque peu légèrement, que "Tell er-Râmeh n'est donc pas un tell bien proéminent" ("Tell er-Râmeh is at all events not a prominent mound, since the writer was unable to locate it exactly for want of a competent guide, though passing within a mile of it." *Op. cit.*, p. 49).

A.- INSTRUMENTS EN SILEX

"*Racloirs en éventail*."- Les deux pièces trouvées sont du type épais, caractéristique du *Cananéen*.¹

Par ses dimensions, l'une des pièces (fig. 4) est jusqu'ici unique en Transjordanie aussi bien qu'en Palestine; elle mesure en effet 205 mm. de longueur sur 128 de largeur, avec une épaisseur moyenne de 10 mm.; le conchoïde de percussion, épais de 24 mm., est énorme et porte au talon de fortes retouches abruptes qui l'ont un peu entamé. Le pourtour de l'outil, légèrement poli par l'usage, a été l'objet de très soigneuses retouches semi-plates sur la face recouverte par le cortex. Le silex est marron-clair, parsemé de nodules fossiles blancs, et dépourvu de patine.

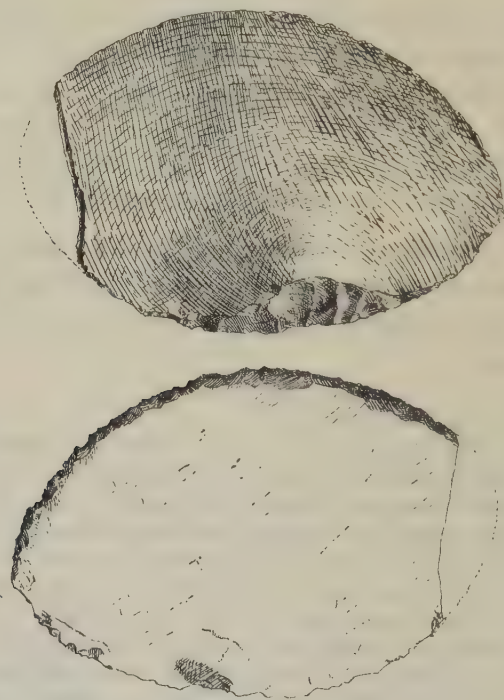


Fig. 4.- TELL MOUSTAH. "Racloir en éventail."
($\frac{1}{3}$ gr. nat.)

¹ Sur cette industrie, voir plus loin p. 205.

Je l'ai dit ailleurs,¹ nombre de ces "racloirs en éventail" sont de véritables couperets, d'autres des faucilles. Les fortes pièces, comme celle-ci, auraient pu servir, comme le suggère Macalister, pour dépecer les animaux.²

Couteaux.— Trois exemplaires, avec poli de l'usage, représentent le couteau bifide, à arête dorsale enlevée, si abondant dans le *Cananéen* (fig. 5, A-B).



Fig. 5.— TELL MOUSTAH. Couteaux en silex.
($\frac{1}{2}$ gr. nat.)

Une variété du couteau de l'industrie cananéenne que nous trouvons ici est la mince lame à dos rabattu et à une extrémité en arc de cercle (fig. 5, C). Dans le *Ghassoulien*,³ on ne rencontre un type approchant que dans la station de *Sabl el-Koussin* (Samarie.)

Perçoirs.— Quatre perçoirs sont du type commun⁴ à tout le Br. I.

Pointes.— Nous avons ici deux pointes triangulaires à *plan de frappe uni*. L'une a un des bords retouché en racloir, l'autre une extrémité perforante bien dégagée qui semble avoir servi de perçoir.

Lames.— Plusieurs lames longues et étroites sont sans doute des ébauches de couteaux.

Percuteur (?).— Un cube en silex de 55 mm. de côté est recouvert du martelage habituel aux percuteurs. Sa forme, cependant, et un léger poli sur une des faces, laisseraient croire que l'objet a été utilisé comme broyeur.

¹ *J.P.O.S.*, X, 1930, p. 74, note 1.

² BLISS, MACALISTER, WUNSCH, *Excavations in Palestine, 1898-1900*, Londres 1902, p. 142.

³ Sur cette industrie, voir plus loin p. 202.

⁴ Type dans : *J.P.O.S.*, X, 1930, p. 68 pl. I, n° 5.

B. OBJETS EN PIERRE

Vases.— Plusieurs vases et fragments de vases en calcaire ont été recueillis. Ils sont du type commun à tout le Br. I.

Les vases en basalte sont assez lourds.

Meules et broyeurs.— Ils sont en quartzite ou en basalte, du type habituel.

Pilon.— La seule pièce trouvée est en roche grise, longue de 147 mm. avec un diamètre moyen de 53 mm. . La partie inférieure possède un renflement également cylindrique, haut de 54 mm. et dont le diamètre atteint 72 mm. . Sur la face active, le poli de l'usage est bien apparent.

Casse-têtes.— Les quelques spécimens recueillis sont en calcaire ou en basalte; le type globulaire¹ n'est pas représenté.

C. CERAMIQUE

Outre de nombreux tessons, elle comprend deux vases auxquels il ne manque que quelques fragments.

Le premier (fig. 6) est une forte jarre de 47 cm. de haut (sans le col qui manque) et d'un diamètre maximum extérieur de 42 cm. .

La pâte est alumino-ferrugineuse, de couleur rose-clair, très régulièrement cuite sur toute l'épaisseur des parois, qui est en moyenne de 10 mm. . Elle contient de nombreux fragments de silex et de calcaire qui la rendent assez grossière, sa consistance ne laissant cependant rien à désirer. La jarre a été faite à la main, ce qui est d'ailleurs la règle pour les pâtes ainsi mélangées.²

Le fond est plat et d'un diamètre extérieur de 20 cm. . Les anses, au nombre de deux, sont horizontales, *ondulées* et non perforées, s'attachant à la panse sur une longueur de 13 cm. .

La décoration consiste en bandes rouges, larges de 25 à 30 mm., tirées obliquement du col à la base. Les coulées de peinture s'échappent un peu partout des bandes, résultat d'un travail hâtif et maladroit.

¹ J.P.O.S., X, 1930, p. 71.

² *Manuel de Recherches Préhistoriques*, éd. 1929, p. 190.

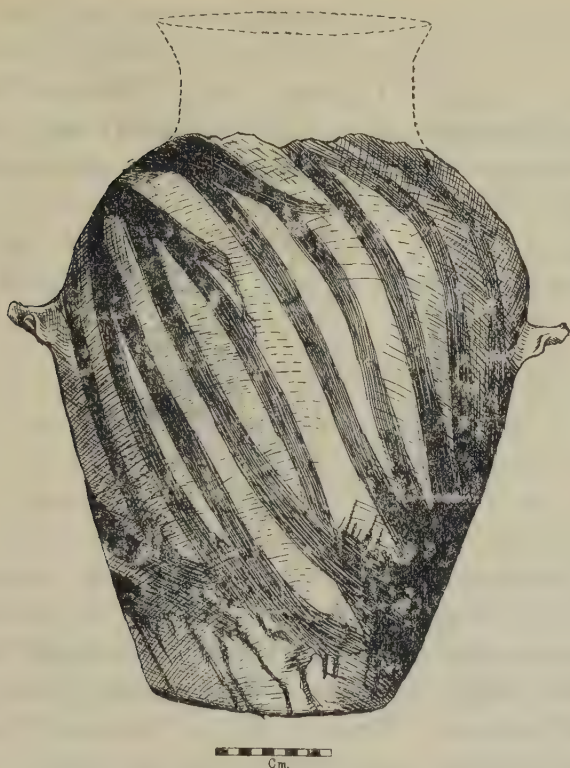


Fig. 6. TELL MOUSTAH. Vase peint.
($\frac{1}{7}$ gr. nat.)

Le deuxième vase a été trouvé à 3 m. au-dessous de la surface du tell, dans une couche apparemment plus ancienne que celle qui nous a livré *tous* les autres objets. C'est un vase globulaire,¹ haut de 21 cm., d'un diamètre maximum extérieur de 32 cm. .

La pâte est alumino-ferrugineuse, charbonneuse et fumigée à l'intérieur seulement, de couleur rouge-clair. Quoique plus fine que celle du vase précédent elle n'est pas moins mélangée de fragments, surtout calcaires, avec quelques parcelles de quartz. La pièce est entièrement faite à la main.

¹ Type analogue (sauf fond et anses) dans : *Palestine Museum, Jerusalem, Bulletin* No 3, 1926, Pl. III, no 6. Pour le fond et les anses: *ibid.*, Pl. II, no 12.

Le fond est plat et d'un diamètre extérieur de 20 cm. . Le col vertical est bas, 15 mm. à peine, muni à sa naissance d'une colle-rette rubanée en relief. Les deux anses, légèrement ondulées et non percées, étroites (15 mm.) mais longues (95 mm.), sont posées horizontalement aux $\frac{2}{3}$ de la hauteur, sur la partie la plus saillante de la panse.

Les lignes de ce vase, qui est extérieurement recouvert d'un enduit ocre-clair, dénotent un sens artistique développé chez son auteur.



Fig. 7:- TELL MOUSTAH. Plat en céramique (coupe).
($\frac{1}{7}$ gr. nat.)

Nous avons encore, dans la couche supérieure, une moitié de plat de 36 cm. de diamètre extérieur (fig. 7). La pâte est toujours alumino-ferrugineuse, fumigée à l'intérieur de la masse seulement; les fragments calcaires et siliceux sont plus rares, le grain de la pâte plus fin et homogène. Toute la pièce est recouverte d'un engobe rosé, légèrement plus foncé que la couleur de la pâte. Le lissage, plus soigné que sur les deux vases, a cependant été fait à la main, à l'aide sans doute d'une palette en bois ou en toute autre matière tendre.

Le fond, légèrement bombé, est épais de 6mm. au centre et de 11 mm. à la périphérie. Celle-ci est entourée d'un rebord vertical, haut à l'extérieur de 28 mm. .

Enfin, avec de nombreux tessons qui rappellent la couche la plus ancienne connue de Jéricho, nous avons encore ici un exemplaire de la petite oreillette horizontale perforée si abondante dans le Ghassoulien.

CONCLUSIONS

Les quelques échantillons de l'industrie de *Tell Moustah* que nous venons de passer rapidement en revue ne peuvent évidemment suffire

à des comparaisons précises avec les cultures analogues des tells palestiniens. Ils permettent cependant de classer, dans une chronologie relative, la couche supérieure qui les contenait.

Dans les silex, les couteaux bifides à arête dorsale enlevée, les "racloirs en éventail" nettement plus épais que dans le *Ghassoulien*¹; dans la céramique, l'anse ondulée, totalement absente à *Oumm-Qatafa* et à *Teleilat Ghassoul*, mais abondante à Jéricho, à *Et-Taouamin*² et dans les niveaux correspondants des autres tells, permettent de dire que la couche supérieure de *Tell Moustah*, au moins sur une épaisseur de 1m.50, est contemporaine des plus anciennes couches connues de Jéricho; que son industrie, nettement différente des cultures d'*Oumm-Qatafa* et de *Teleilat Ghassoul*, possède tous les caractères de l'industrie cananéenne, telle que nous la déterminons plus loin.³

Les vestiges de surface appartiennent tous à cette époque et nulle autre industrie ne s'y affirme; c'est donc alors que la ville fut définitivement abandonnée, pour des raisons qui nous paraissent d'ailleurs assez obscures.⁴ De quand date sa fondation? Un sondage poussé jusqu'au lit d'alluvions qui semble se trouver à la base du tell permettrait seul de le dire.

III.- LES INDUSTRIES LITHIQUES DE L'AGE DU BRONZE

Depuis un demi-siècle que se poursuivent sans relâche les recherches archéologiques en Palestine, les sites de Jéricho, Lachis, Taanak, Mégiddo, Gêrar, et de bien d'autres cités illustres ont subi la pioche des fouilleurs; les uns, comme Beisan, méthodiquement explorés, la plupart, comme Jéricho, hâtivement éventrés et abandonnés avant qu'une fouille poussée à fond ait épuisé les possibilités de trouver des éléments nouveaux, peut-être essentiels, sur les plus anciennes civilisations qu'ils pourraient recouvrir.

Un manque analogue de méthode a régné dans l'étude même des documents archéologiques mis à jour. La céramique a bien

¹ Voir plus loin p. 204.

² *J.P.O.S.*, X, 1930, p. 72.

³ Voir p. 205.

⁴ Cf. cependant l'hypothèse qu'émet le P. MALLON, *op. cit.*, pp. 96 et 98.

donné lieu à nombre de théories et de classifications ; la composition des pâtes et la forme des vases ont fourni, dans leurs moindres détails, ample matière à l'imagination des savants. Par contre, l'étude d'autres documents, les objets en silex, par exemple, a été complètement négligée. Il n'est, pour s'en convaincre, qu'à parcourir les superbes publications des fouilles : les silex sont à peine nommés, juste ce qu'il faut pour que leur présence donne à certains niveaux archéologiques un cachet indéniable de "haute antiquité" ; le plus souvent, "silex" équivaut à "néolithique" et rien de plus. Dans les planches, parfois fort belles, de superbes pièces coudoient les plus vulgaires éclats.¹

Cette négligence explique que dans l'énorme somme de documents accumulés par J. de MORGAN dans sa *Préhistoire Orientale*, la Palestine fasse piètre figure. De longues recherches sur le terrain ou dans les collections auraient seules pu fournir à l'éminent orientaliste les documents sur ce pays que les comptes rendus des fouilles étaient incapables de lui donner.

Nous avons donc cru le moment venu de mettre un peu d'ordre dans le chaos lithique engendré par les fouilles des tells. Non que nous prétendions faire une étude détaillée, ni même un exposé complet d'une question aussi complexe ; nous nous bornerons à une esquisse de nos connaissances actuelles de l'industrie lithique de l'âge du bronze en Palestine. Cette industrie, la plus négligée jusqu'ici, nous semble cependant susceptible de fournir, pour la classification chronologique, des données qui ne sont guère plus aléatoires que celles de la poterie ; l'influence personnelle de l'ouvrier s'exerçait en effet plus facilement en céramique que sur l'instrument en silex ; la fabrication de celui-ci demandait un bien moindre effort d'imagination ou de talent artistique ; de par sa nature même, le silex était d'ailleurs moins malléable que la pâte d'argile.

Et de fait, l'examen attentif des instruments en silex trouvés dans les niveaux du Br. I palestinien révèle diverses cultures bien différenciées que les caractéristiques plus flottantes de la céramique ne permettaient pas de séparer aussi nettement.

¹ Par exemple, SELLIN und WATZINGER, *Jericho*, pl. 25 et 26.

De quelles cultures dérivent les plus anciennes industries de l'âge du bronze que nous connaissons? Il semble impossible de le dire à l'heure actuelle. Dans l'échelle stratigraphique qui se bâtit peu à peu pour la préhistoire de la Palestine, il y a encore aujourd'hui une large lacune entre le *Natoufien*,¹ seule culture mésolithique identifiée avec certitude, et l'industrie de la couche supérieure de la grotte d'*Oumm-Qatafa*,² qui appartient déjà à l'âge du bronze et qui dérive d'une tout autre conception technique.

On a cru, il est vrai, pendant ces dernières années, que le sol palestinien était recouvert d'une industrie mésolithique³ à hachettes et pics analogue à notre Campignien d'Europe. Le R. P. Buzy a admirablement décrit cette industrie.⁴ Mais depuis quelques mois plusieurs découvertes de hachettes typiques de ce pseudo-campignien dans des niveaux du Br. I tardif,⁵ et d'autres constatations que nous verrons plus loin, nous obligent à renoncer à l'hypothèse d'un Mésolithique palestinien à hachettes ou à pics; car les gros pics, trouvés surtout en Galilée⁶ et qui étaient également dits mésolithiques, n'appartiennent eux aussi qu'à l'âge du bronze, comme l'ont prouvé les découvertes de *Teleilat Ghassoul*.

Quant au Néolithique, auquel ont été attribuées tant de cultures, nous ne trouvons en Palestine, ni dans le sous-sol ni en surface, aucune industrie que l'on puisse lui concéder. Par "Néolithique" nous entendons, il est vrai, en préhistoire *l'âge où la pierre subit le polissage intentionnel, alors que l'homme ne fait pas encore usage d'objets en métal*. Or, toutes les cultures à pierre polie, connues jusqu'ici en Palestine, sont déjà contemporaines, nous ne disons pas du cuivre, mais bien du bronze. On peut dire, avec les plus grandes chances d'être dans

¹ Sur cette industrie, microlithique et sans poterie, trouvée dans les grottes de *Shouqbah* et de *Mougharet el-Ouad*, cf. D. A. E. GARROD, *Excavations in the Mugharet el-Wad*, dans *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1929, p. 220.

² Cf. *J.P.O.S.*, 1929, p. 118.

³ A. MALLON, *Quelques stations préhistoriques de Palestine*, 1925, pp. 12, 33 et note 1.

⁴ D. BUZY, *Une industrie mésolithique en Palestine*, dans *Revue Biblique*, 1928, p. 558.

⁵ Voir plus loin p. 208.

⁶ Par exemple : TURVILLE-PETRE, *Researches in Prehistoric Galilee*, Londres 1927, pp. 109-110.

le vrai, que le Néolithique ne s'est jamais implanté en Palestine¹; le contraire aurait été surprenant, cette civilisation étant totalement absente des centres de civilisation voisins, Egypte et Chaldée.

Ce n'est pas seulement en Orient que le Néolithique est en butte à de rudes assauts, c'est au moins tout le bassin de la Méditerranée qui lui est aujourd'hui contesté. Ainsi certains savants ont de sérieuses raisons de croire que le "néolithique méridional (de la France) est un *énéolithique sans bronze, un énéolithique très pauvre en métal, mais non un véritable néolithique* . . . Dans quelques-uns de ses faciès, il est *postérieur* à l'apparition du bronze sur la côte méditerranéenne et *aucun* des faciès du néolithique à haches en pierre polie, à poterie et à pointes de flèches à ailerons n'est antérieur au bronze dans ces régions".² D'autres savants vont plus loin encore et nient l'existence même du "vrai néolithique, tel qu'il a été défini dès les débuts des études préhistoriques."³

Le Néolithique semble donc plus problématique encore en Palestine⁴ où, nous l'avons déjà dit, aucune industrie à pierre intentionnellement polie ne se montre en l'absence de métal.

LE GHASSOULIEN.

La plus ancienne culture de Palestine ayant connu le polissage intentionnel du silex est représentée, à l'heure actuelle, par l'industrie du niveau supérieur de la grotte d'Oumm-Qalafa⁵ et par celle,

¹ J. DE MORGAN, *La Préhistoire Orientale*, Paris 1927, vol. III, p. 14, émettait déjà ce doute en ce qui concerne la Syrie, dont l'industrie est semblable à celle de la Palestine (p. 16). Les arguments de l'illustre orientaliste semblent même avoir réussi à ébranler les ardentés convictions *néolithiques* du R. P. Vincent (Cf. *Revue Biblique*, 1930, p. 443).

² Ct. OCTOBON, *Notes sur l'énéolithique dans la région toulousaine*, dans *Revue Anthropologique*, 1929, p. 404, Les italiques sont du Ct. Octobon.

³ J. DE MORGAN, *Notes sur la Préhistoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, dans *Revue Africaine*, N° 314, 1923, p. 10.

⁴ J'étais déjà arrivé à cette conclusion dans une communication à la "Palestine Oriental Society" dans sa réunion du 16 Mai 1929.

Je passerai sous silence la poterie "néolithique" de Palestine, décrite jadis avec une étonnante assurance, la caverne "néolithique" de Gezer, le "néolithique" sensationnel découvert l'hiver dernier à Jéricho. Tous ces "néolithiques" sortent du domaine de la préhistoire et rentrent exclusivement dans celui de la fantaisie.

⁵ Voir plus haut p. 201.

identique, de *Teleilat Ghassoul*.¹ Nous lui donnons le nom de *Ghassoulien*, d'après ce dernier gisement, qui est le plus typique.²

L'instrument dominant³ dans cette industrie est la pièce en silex du type "*ciseau*" (fig. 8, A), dont une face est toujours à peu près plane, l'autre plus ou moins en dos d'âne, la section variant ainsi entre le triangle et le trapèze (fig. 8, A'). Le taillant est parfois droit, et alors l'instrument a tous les caractères de l'herminette, ou légèrement convexe, et tournant alors à la gouge, dont la face inférieure montre souvent le creux bien marqué. Dans un type comme

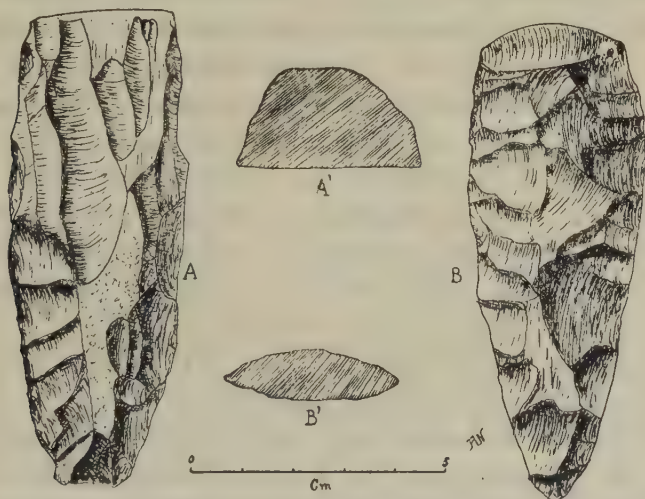


Fig. 8.- Ciseau du Ghassoulien (A) (*Teleilat Ghassoul*) et hachette du Tahounien (B) (*Tell el-Foul*). (2/3 g.n.)

¹ Sur cette ruine, voir: A MALLON, *Fouilles de Teleilat Ghassoul, Rapports préliminaires*, dans *Biblica*, 1930, pp. 3 ss. et 129 ss.

² Malgré les inconvénients qu'il peut y avoir à multiplier les appellations préhistoriques nous ne pouvons continuer, dans certains cas, à nous servir pour les industries palestiniennes de la terminologie européenne, qui a, le plus souvent, un sens purement local (magdalénien, solutréen, robenhausien, par exemple); cette habitude a déjà engendré ici, nous l'avons vu pour le Campignien et même pour le Néolithique, de graves erreurs. Au surplus, comment désigner, en les différenciant, des industries bien distinctes mais qui toutes appartiennent au Br. I? "It is obvious that though there is no purpose in making a distinction without a difference it is still more dangerous to confuse under a single term cultures which are not identical" dit avec un grand à-propos M. G.M. FitzGerald (*Pal. Expl. Fund. Q. S.*, 1930, p. 85).

³ Nous ne décrivons ici que les types caractéristiques des industries.

dans l'autre, les bords latéraux sont sensiblement rectilignes et convergent vers le talon.

Dans les deux types, l'outil a toujours été obtenu à l'aide d'enlèvements *longitudinaux*, perpendiculaires au taillant; les cannelures ainsi produites donnent souvent à la pièce un certain air de famille avec les "rabots" du Paléolithique supérieur de Palestine.

Le plus souvent, le taillant a subi un polissage intentionnel, qui ne dépasse jamais le quart de la longueur de la pièce. Le poli de l'usage est également fréquent, particulièrement sur les gouges.

La longueur moyenne de ces pièces est d'une douzaine de centimètres; une pièce, provenant de *Sabl el-Koussin*, atteint 185 mm., avec un taillant de 58 mm.. Généralement, le taillant ne dépasse pas 30 mm.; souvent, il n'atteint pas 10 mm., même pour des pièces ayant 140 mm. de longueur.

La *hachette* est extrêmement rare, qu'elle soit en diorite ou en silex; Elle ne diffère du type "ciseau" que par sa section lenticulaire, son taillant convexe et plus large. La technique de la taille est la même; le polissage intentionnel n'y est guère plus étendu, les pièces en diorite étant seules entièrement polies.

Les *couteaux* sont petits (3 à 8 cm., très rarement 10), étroits (10 à 14 mm.), à dos rabattu, jamais bifides.

Les "*racloirs en éventail*" sont *minces* et finement retailés sur les bords. Ils affectent toutes les formes, depuis la feuille de laurier jusqu'au racloir rond, mais la forme éventail domine.

Les *perçoirs*, très nombreux, affectent toutes les formes. Certaines pièces, très trapues, ont une face plane. Le type taraud est fréquent.

Les *pics* sont également nombreux, mais généralement assez frustes. Les pièces les plus fortes peuvent avoir servi de socs de charrue. Le talon, toujours fort et le plus souvent triédrique, rapproche ces instruments, d'une façon troublante, de la pièce typique du "Chalossien."¹ La longueur varie de 12 à 18 cm..

Les *têtes de flèches* sont extrêmement rares: une à *Oumm-Qatafa*, deux entières et une fragmentaire à *Téléilat Ghassoul*², une dans la

¹ Sur ce rapprochement, ainsi que sur cette pseudo-industrie, voir: *Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française*, 1930, pp. 463 ss.

² *Biblica*, 1930, p. 140, fig. 3.

station de surface de *Kefr Tàs*.¹ Exception faite de la première, qui possède deux ailerons embryonnaires, elles sont toutes d'un type assez rudimentaire. Il semble donc que la tête de flèche, tant par le type que par la rareté, soit encore à son début dans le Ghassoulien.

Des *lamelles microlithiques*, rarement retouchées, et un grand nombre d'instruments de fortune atypiques accompagnent cet outillage.

La description de la céramique sortirait du cadre de la présente note²; il nous suffira de dire que la minuscule oreillette, généralement percée, domine, alors que l'anse ondulée³ est totalement absente.

Enfin, tant *Oumm-Qatafa* que *Teleilat Ghassoul* nous ont fourni quelques rares objets en bronze et une très abondante industrie osseuse.

LE CANANEEN⁴

Examinons maintenant l'outillage lithique des plus anciennes couches connues des tells et des niveaux correspondants des grottes. Dans ces couches, l'industrie est presque partout la même, ce qui laisserait croire qu'elles marquent bien le premier établissement et qu'il n'y a pas en dessous de niveau plus ancien; pratiquement, cependant, on s'en est rarement assuré.

Les *couteaux* à dos rabattu⁵ sont du type ghassoulien, mais leur nombre est très réduit; un type particulier à cette industrie est la

¹ Sur ce gisement, cf. *J.P.O.S.*, 1929, p. 116.

² On voudra bien se reporter à la description donnée par le R. P. Mallon dans *Biblica*, 1930, pp. 17 et 144, en attendant les études plus complètes actuellement en préparation tant pour *Oumm-Qatafa* que pour *Teleilat Ghassoul*.

³ Celles du vase fig. 6 sont typiques.

⁴ Nous aurions désiré, en donnant un nom à cette industrie, continuer la tradition qui veut que les cultures préhistoriques soient nommées d'après le premier gisement typique qui les a fournies. Nous n'avons trouvé aucun gisement digne de cet honneur. Il nous a donc semblé préférable d'adopter le nom de "Cananéen," que le P. Vincent (*Céramique de la Palestine*, p. 4, dans *Union Académique Internationale, Classification des céramiques antiques*, N° 8) a donné à une partie de la céramique qui accompagne cette industrie lithique.

⁵ Type dans *J.P.O.S.*, 1930, p. 68, pl. I, n° 1 (grotte d'*Et-Taouamin*).

large lame taillée en arc de cercle à une extrémité.¹

Totalement absent dans le Ghassoulien, le couteau bifide, large (25 mm. en moyenne, parfois 35), mince (3 à 7 mm. d'épaisseur maxima), aux bords parallèles et parfaitement réguliers, abonde ici (fig. 5, A-B, fig. 9).² Le plus souvent, l'arête centrale de la face supérieure de la lame a été enlevée par un coup adroitement porté à la base de la pièce, avant que celle-ci n'ait été détachée du nucléus; au lieu d'être triangulaire, la section de la lame est ainsi trapézoïdale. Dans les deux types, la longueur moyenne est d'une douzaine de centimètres.

Le couteau bifide à arête centrale enlevée a été trouvé à Jéricho,³ à Mégiddo,⁴ à Lachis,⁵ à Taanak,⁶ à Tell Moustah,⁷ à Gézer,⁸ et dans divers tells de la Shéphéla,⁹ enfin



Fig. 9.- Cananéen. Couteau à arête centrale enlevée (Mougharet el-Masa). (G. n.)

¹ Type fig. 5, C. Nous possédons encore trois exemplaires recueillis à Jéricho et un à *Et-Taouamin*.

Ce type ne doit pas être confondu avec l'élément terminal de l'armature de faucille dont *tout le dos* est en arc de cercle (ainsi *J.P.O.S.*, 1930, p. 68 pl. I, n° 2).

² Voir aussi un exemplaire d'*Et-Taouamin*, *ibid.*, pl. I, n° 7.

³ SELLIN und WATZINGER, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV, n° 84, 86, 87, et XXVI, n° 90 à 108.

⁴ SCHUMACHER, *Tell el-Mutesellim*, Band I, Fundbericht, Leipzig 1908, pl. XIV, A.

⁵ FLINDERS PETRIE, *Tell el Hesi (Lachis)*, Londres 1891, pl. 10.

⁶ SELLIN, *Tell Taanak*, Vienne 1904, pl. VII.

⁷ Ci-dessus, p. 195.

⁸ MACALISTER, *The Excavation of Gezer* Londres 1912, pl. CXXXVIII, n° 13 à 16.

⁹ BLISS, MACALISTER, WUNSCH, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXII n° 3, 4, 10, 11, 21.

grottes : *Et-Taouamin*,¹ *El-Masa*,² grotte de l'*Ouadi Salha*.³

L'élément de faucille, toujours étroit dans le Ghassoulien, où il se distingue difficilement du simple couteau, est ici généralement large (moyenne 25 mm.),⁴ à tranchant uni⁵ ou muni de dents plus ou moins fortes.⁶

Les armatures de faucille étroites subsistent encore, mais elles sont généralement recouvertes, sur les deux faces, par la retaille oblique.⁷

Cette *retaille oblique*, absente dans les Ghassoulien,⁸ se rencontre sur différents objets à Jéricho,⁹ à Mégiddo,¹⁰ à Gézer,¹¹ à Lachis,¹² à *Et-Taouamin*,¹³ dans la grotte de l'*Ouadi Salha*.¹⁴

Le "racloir en éventail," beaucoup plus rare que dans le Ghassoulien, est aussi plus épais et généralement de forme moins régulière. Le type ayant pu servir de couperet ne s'y rencontre plus guère; peut-être a-t-il été remplacé par le large couteau à arête enlevée ou, plus probablement, par un instrument en métal. Nous trouvons ce "racloir en éventail" plus épais à Gézer,¹⁵ à Jéricho,¹⁶ à Lachis,¹⁷

¹ *J.P.O.S.*, 1930, p. 67.

² *Ibid.*, 1929, p. 117.

³ TURVILLE-PETRE, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX, A, h.

⁴ Moins cependant qu'au Br. II; voir, pour la comparaison, une très bonne présentation des deux types dans FLINDERS PETRIE, *Gerar*, Londres 1928, pl. XVI.

⁵ Gézar, Gézer, Lachis, Taanak.

⁶ Sur certaines pièce à grosses dents, qu'elles soient dites scies ou éléments de faucille, cf. *J.P.O.S.*, 1930, p. 68.

⁷ *Et-Taouamin*, pl. I, n° 2; Jéricho (récoltes de l'auteur).

⁸ Exception faites d'une grande tête de flèche trouvée, en place, à *Teleildt Ghassoul* (*Biblica*, 1930, p. 140, fig. 3).

⁹ Récoltes de l'auteur.

¹⁰ SCHUMACHER, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV, A.

¹¹ MACALISTER, *op. cit.*, pl. CXXXVIII, n° 36, pl. CXXXIX, n° 1, 14, 17.

¹² BLISS, *A Mound of many Cities*, Londres 1894, fig. 249.

¹³ *Et-Taouamin*, pl. I, n° 2 à 4.

¹⁴ TURVILLE-PETRE, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX, A-b, c et B-g.

¹⁵ MACALISTER, *op. cit.*, CXXXVIII, n° 30 et 34, pl. CXXXIX, n° 5, 15, 16, 21.

¹⁶ SELLIN und WATZINGER, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXII et récoltes de l'auteur.

¹⁷ FLINDERS PETRIE, *op. cit.*, pl. 10. Le R. P. Vincent voit dans ce même racloir (*Canaan*, fig. 271) "un joli échantillon de hache ovoïde finement taillée" (*Canaan*, p. 391).

à Taanak,¹ à *Tell Mouslah*,² ainsi que dans quelques tells de la Shéphéla.³

La *lête de flèche*, si rare dans le Ghassoulien, se rencontre à Gêzer,⁴ à Jéricho,⁵ à Lachis,⁶ à *Et-Taouamin*.⁷

Les instruments du type "ciseau," à taille longitudinale, si abondants dans le Ghassoulien, ne se rencontrent dans aucun des niveaux connus des tells dits cananéens.

Nous y trouvons pourtant la *hachette* en silex, quoique rare, à Jéricho,⁸ à *Et-Taouamin*,⁹ à *Moughâret el-Masa* (grotte de St.-Chariton),¹⁰ à *Moughâret el-Ouad*,¹¹ partout avec la même industrie de la couche inférieure des tells. Mais ces hachettes *diffèrent considérablement des instruments analogues du Ghassoulien*, non seulement par leur forme en feuille de laurier, par l'absence de tout polissage intentionnel, mais surtout par le technique de la taille. Ici "la bille de silex.... était d'abord attaquée par grosses enlevures alternantes, en dessus et en dessous, à partir de toute la périphérie. L'avivage devenait ensuite plus minutieux, allant toujours du bord (latéral) au centre.... Il n'est pas douteux que le tranchant ne soit obtenu au moyen d'une enlevure *transversale*, frappée sur un bord latéral et allant d'un bout à l'autre" du taillant.¹² De là, un taillant "si affilé qu'il défie l'habileté du forgeron travaillant le fer sur

¹ Récoltes de l'auteur.

² Ci-dessus, fig. 4.

³ BLISS, MACALISTER, WUNSCH, *op. cit.*, pl. 71, n° 1 et 9.

⁴ MACALISTER, *op. cit.*, pl. CXXXVIII, n° 37 à 29, CXXXIX, n° 1 et 9.

⁵ Récoltes de l'auteur.

⁶ BLISS, *op. cit.*, fig. 255.

⁷ *Et-Taouamin*, pl. I, n° 3 et 4.

⁸ SELLIN und WATZINGER, *op. cit.*, pl. 25, n° 127; ainsi que récoltes du P. Mallon et de l'auteur.

⁹ *Et-Taouamin*, pl. I, n° 9.

¹⁰ Récoltes de l'auteur.

¹¹ Fouilles Garrod.

¹² D. BUZY; *op. cit.*, p. 563; cette excellente description, qui concerne les hachettes de l'industrie tahounienne, considérée comme mésolithique par cet auteur, s'applique tout aussi bien aux hachettes du Cananéen, qui sont identiques.

l'enclume,¹ d'où, semblerait-il, inutilité du polissage qui était indispensable pour aiguiser les taillants des hachettes obtenues par enlevures frontales, partant du bord même du taillant.² Et en fait, aucune de ces hachettes ne porte trace de polissage intentionnel.³

Quant à la céramique, elle est caractérisée dans tous ces gisements par la présence de l'anse ondulée, percée ou non,⁴ et l'absence quasi totale de la petite oreillette du Ghassoulien.

L'industrie de l'os, enfin, est moins prospère, mais les types sont à peu près les mêmes que dans le Ghassoulien.

Ghassoulien et Cananéen sont les deux seules cultures lithiques que nous aient livrées les couches du Br. I en Palestine. Que les niveaux ghassouliens soient les plus anciens, cela se déduit logiquement aussi bien de son absence totale dans la stratigraphie des tells, au-dessus des couches cananéennes, que du caractère nettement plus archaïque de la poterie⁵ et de l'industrie lithique.

Dans le Ghassoulien, le métal, encore rare, n'a pas sensiblement supplanté le silex dans la confection des outils. C'est par milliers que nous avons recueilli à *Teleilat Ghassoul* les ciseaux, les erminettes, les gouges, les couperets, les racloirs, les couteaux, les perçoirs; on sent nettement que l'outillage lithique, malgré la présence du métal, y régnait toujours en maître.

Dans le Cananéen, par contre, les instruments en pierre se font rares et ne forment plus qu'une partie secondaire de l'outillage. Les ciseaux, désormais à taille transversale, y sont extrêmement rares; les perçoirs ont considérablement diminué en nombre, remplacés sans doute par des instruments en bronze; les "racloirs en éventail" ne se rencontrent plus qu'en nombre infime. Certains objets sont, il est vrai, plus parfaits, comme le couteau à arête enlevée, mais

¹ Ibid., *id.*

² Comparer, fig. 8, le "ciseau" ghassoulien avec la hachette à taille transversale du Tahounien, ou avec celle identique du Cananéen (*Et-Taouamin*, pl. I, n° 9).

³ Le P. Mallon (*op. cit.*, p. 13) avait déjà fait cette remarque, alors que l'on croyait encore que les hachettes à taille transversale appartenaient au Mésolithique.

⁴ Un bon nombre de types de ces anses ondulées sont réunis dans: BLISS, MACALISTER, WUNSCH, *op. cit.*, pl. 26.

⁵ A. MALLON, dans *Biblica*, 1930, pp. 20 et 21.

leur nombre prouve qu'ils ne forment plus, eux aussi, qu'une partie accessoire de l'outillage; cette évolution elle-même montre un progrès important, progrès qui sera le dernier de l'industrie de la pierre; car désormais, au Br. II, seuls subsisteront le couteau à arête enlevée et le gros élément de faucille.

Ghassoulien et Cananéen sont d'autre part si différents entre eux que l'on peut se demander s'ils ne sont pas le fait de deux populations distinctes. Quoique trahissant quelques influences ghassouliennes, le Cananéen a une autre origine; la composition de l'outillage, son faciès technique sont de tout autre tradition. Le Ghassoulien dénote un travail intense du bois et de la terre, le Cananéen une vie plus facile et plus aisée. La retaille latérale des hachettes, les flèches à ailerons, la retaille oblique, le couteau à arête enlevée, voilà autant de nouveautés que le Ghassoulien ne laissait absolument pas prévoir et qui, dans le Cananéen, semblent avoir atteint, tout d'un coup, leur plein épanouissement.

LE TAHOUNIEN¹

L'origine du Cananéen, nous croyons précisément l'avoir trouvée dans cette industrie de surface² dont nous avons déjà dit un mot et qui, depuis plusieurs années, était dite en Palestine mésolithique ou campignienne. Elle n'a, malheureusement, jamais été trouvée, en ce pays, ailleurs qu'en surface. Ceci est d'autant plus surprenant qu'elle est la plus abondante; elle l'est au point qu'on a pu dire qu'elle "constitue l'originalité lithique de la Palestine,"³ qu'elle "donne sa physionomie à l'industrie lithique de Canaan."⁴

¹ Nous nommons cette industrie "Tahounien" d'après la station de l'*Ouadi Tahouneh*, qui semble la plus riche et la plus typique de cette culture. Nous ne faisons d'ailleurs ainsi que reprendre une vieille idée du R. P. Buzy.

² Lorsqu'une industrie bien caractérisée n'a été trouvée qu'en surface, on doit cependant, à défaut de mieux, la prendre en considération, mais avec la prudence qu'impose ce genre de gisements. C'est ainsi que toutes nos conclusions touchant le Tahounien demeureront purement hypothétiques tant que cette industrie n'aura pas été trouvée en position stratigraphique.

Nous avons d'ailleurs adopté pour principe de n'utiliser, autant que possible, les trouvailles de surface que pour *confirmer*, le cas échéant, les données du sous-sol et de ne les prendre *jamais* en considération pour *infirmer* ces données.

³ A. MALLON, *Stations préhistoriques*, p. 12.

⁴ D. BUZY, *op. cit.*, p. 561.

L'hypothèse mésolithique doit être aujourd'hui définitivement abandonnée. Le seul argument apporté en sa faveur, la ressemblance avec le Campignien, est d'autant plus insuffisant que ces deux industries n'ont entre elles que des rapports morphologiques très superficiels. Au surplus, l'élément typique du Campignien, le tranchet,¹ fait complètement défaut dans le Tahounien.

On a d'ailleurs reconnu aujourd'hui que le Campignien est une culture véritablement néolithique,² de caractère nordique,³ ayant bien poussé quelques pointes en France et même en Italie,⁴ mais n'ayant jamais été signalée dans l'Europe sud-orientale, ni dans le bassin méridional de la Méditerranée, ni nulle part en Afrique ou en Asie.

Enfin, la découverte en Palestine de la hachette à taille transversale, instrument typique de l'industrie tahounienne, dans plusieurs niveaux du Br. I tardif, ainsi que d'autres points de contact étroit entre le Tahounien et le Cananéen, ont amené la ruine définitive de la théorie mésolithique ou campignienne.

Ce Tahounien comprend surtout,⁵ comme nous venons de le dire, des hachettes à *taille transversale*, identiques à celles que nous avons vu dans le Cananéen, et un grand nombre de ces petits instruments dans lesquels on a vu, en Europe, des pics ou des "re-touchoirs."⁶ Ces derniers procèdent de la même technique de taille que les hachettes, dont ils ne se différencient parfois que par l'absence de taillant.

Nous trouvons ensuite le couteau bifide avec⁷ ou sans⁸ arête

¹ Une bonne définition, trop peu connue, de cet instrument, dans : *Manuel de Recherches Préhistoriques*, éd. 1929, p. 403.

² Cf. notamment : J. DECHELETTE, *op. cit.*, p. 326 ; *Manuel de Rech. Préh.*, pp. 213, 218 et tableau II p. 253.

³ H. Breuil, d'après G. POISSON, *Les civilisations néolithiques et énéolithiques de la France*, dans *Revue Anthropologique*, 1928, p. 254.

⁴ Sur le Campignien italien, cf. : R. VAUFREY, *Le Paléolithique italien*, 1929, p. 160.

⁵ Pour l'étude typologique détaillée du Tahounien, nous ne saurions mieux faire que de renvoyer à la monographie du R. P. BUZY déjà citée.

⁶ Sur ces instruments, cf. : J. DECHELETTE, *op. cit.*, p. 331 et R. VAUFREY, *op. cit.*, p. 169 fig. 52, n° 4.

⁷ Beau spécimen dans : D. BUZY, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIX, n° 8.

⁸ *IBID.*, *id.*, n° 2.

enlevée. Identique dans un certain nombre de stations à celui du Cananéen, il est, dans d'autres,¹ d'un type encore assez primitif.

Ce progrès semble d'ailleurs suivre très exactement celui des *flèches*, que nous trouvons en nombre bien plus considérable dans les gisements où les couteaux à arête enlevée ont atteint leur plein développement; c'est ainsi que très abondantes à *Tabouneh*,² les têtes de flèches sont rares à *Tell el-Foul*, à *Tell en-Nasbeh* et à *Tantour*; elles paraissent aussi, dans ces dernières stations, de type plus primitif.

Comme dans le Cananéen, les *petits couteaux à dos rabattu* et les *perçoirs* sont rares.



Fig. 10.—*Tabounien*. Pic et “retouchoir”
(*Ouadi Khareïloun*). (²/₃ g. n.)

Les *scies* et les *éléments de faucille* typiques, ainsi que la *retaille oblique*, suivent également l'évolution du couteau à arête enlevée.

Quant au “*racloir en éventail*” il est *totalemt absent*.

Nous avons, par contre, dans cette industrie, la *hache* entièrement *polie* (fig. 11), mais en roches autres que le silex. Les stations de *Tabouneh*, de *Tell el-Foul* et de *Beit Sabour* en ont fourni un nombre relativement élevé, alors que certains autres gisements, comme *Tell en-Nasbeh* et *Tantour*, n'ont pas livré jusqu'ici un seul exemplaire de ces pièces. Généralement en calcaire dolomitique, parfois en roches plus dures, vertes ou grises, ces haches se rapprochent

¹ *Tell en-Nasbeh, Beit Sabour.*

² Il serait imprudent de considérer *toutes* les flèches de *Tabouneh* comme étant contemporaines de l'outillage à hachettes. La question des flèches palestiniennes pose des problèmes assez ardues, que de nouvelles fouilles pourront seules peut-être résoudre.

du type robenhausien d'Europe.¹

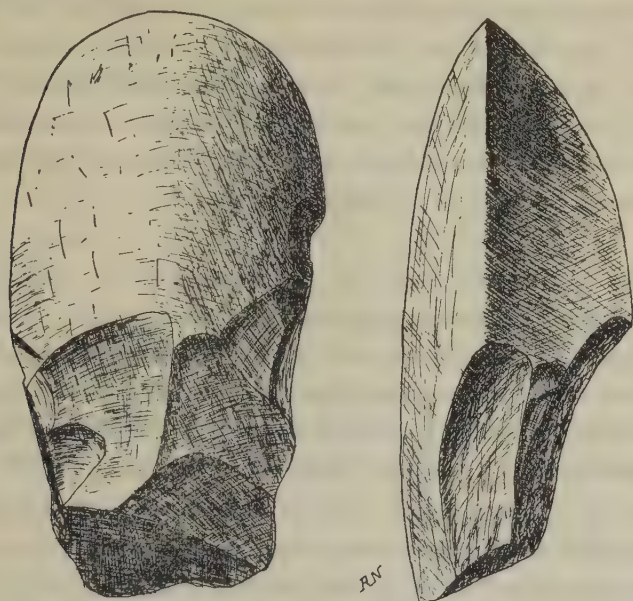


Fig. 11.- *Tahounien*. Hache polie en dolomite (*Tell el-Foul*). (2/3 g. n.)

Ni le Ghassoulien ni le Cananéen n'ont livré une seule de ces pièces. Nous avons bien trouvé à *Teleilat Ghassoul* quelques rares haches polies, en diorite, mais elles n'ont ni le type ni la perfection de celles du Tahounien. Chose également remarquable, cet outillage de pierre polie semble se développer seulement dans les stations où le silex ne subit plus le polissage intentionnel.

Le nombre des hachettes en silex, beaucoup plus élevé que dans le Cananéen, l'absence dans cette dernière industrie du type "re-touchoir," le caractère plus primitif du reste de l'outillage tahounien, la présence des haches polies en roches diverses, enfin le caractère exclusivement de surface du Tahounien, nous font penser non seulement qu'il a précédé le Cananéen des villes, mais encore qu'il est

¹ Les trouvailles réitérées de ces haches polies dans les stations tahouniennes n'ont pas peu contribué à l'abandon de la théorie mésolithique. Aucune n'avait encore été remarquée lorsque le R. P. Buzy publia son étude sur ces stations. La première fut trouvée par l'auteur de ces lignes à *Tell el-Foul*, en septembre 1928 (fig. 11).

le fait d'une population exclusivement nomade. Dans aucune des stations tahouniennes nous n'avons trouvé, en effet, la moindre trace de construction ou d'établissement durable, traces qui ne manquent pas dans la plupart des gisements ghassouliens, même de surface.¹ Il n'est cependant pas impossible que les bases des tells, si elles renferment des cultures plus anciennes que le Cananéen, nous livrent un jour le Tahounien; mais jusqu'ici il n'en a rien été.

Quelle était la céramique du Tahounien? Il est difficile de le dire. N'ayant été trouvée qu'en surface, cette culture ne nous a donné sur sa poterie que de très rares indications; dans les stations de surface, toutes soumises au labour, les tessons sont le plus souvent inutilisables. Relevons cependant la trouvaille d'anses ondulées du type cananéen² et de quelques bords de cette même culture.

Nous ne pouvons donc savoir si la céramique du Tahounien a subi des influences ghassouliennes, mais il est certain que son industrie lithique n'en montre pas la moindre trace,³ de même que le Ghassoulien est absolument exempt de tout élément tahounien.

CONCLUSIONS

Ces deux dernières cultures sont, donc, nettement indépendantes et de traditions différentes. Le Ghassoulien semble, en outre, le fait d'une population dont au moins certaines fractions étaient sédentaires (*Teleilat Ghassoul*, *Oumm-Qatafa*, *Kefr Tàs*, *Tell Ghubbeh*⁴), le Tahounien de peuplades exclusivement nomades, leur réunion ayant déterminé, semble-t-il, la civilisation définitivement sédentaire du Cananéen. Dans cette dernière culture, ce sont cependant les

¹ Par exemple à *Kefr Tàs*, où existent en surface d'importants restes de constructions analogues à celles de *Teleilat Ghassoul*.

² Dont deux recueillies par le R. P. Mallon à *Tahouneh*.

³ L'absence absolue, dans le Tahounien, de "racloirs en éventail" est importante. Elle prouve nettement que le Tahounien ne procède pas du Ghassoulien, dont les "racloirs en éventail" subsistent dans le Cananéen. Inversement, l'absence dans le Ghassoulien de la hachette tahounienne, qui se retrouve elle aussi dans le Cananéen, prouve que le Ghassoulien ne dérive pas du Tahounien.

⁴ Sur ce site, cf. : *Biblica*, 1930, p. 148, note 1.

influences tahouniennes qui dominent (hachette, couteau à arête enlevée, flèches à ailerons, etc.), le Ghassoulien ayant laissé, pour l'industrie lithique, des traces moins importantes ("racloirs en éventail," couteaux à dos rabattu et, peut-être, industrie osseuse).

Qu'étaient les auteurs de ces diverses industries? Il serait bien téméraire d'aborder ce problème dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances. Au surplus, les industries lithiques des contrées voisines de la Palestine n'ont pas encore fait l'objet d'études réellement scientifiques.¹

Si nous hasardions cependant quelques idées, les difficultés du problème n'apparaîtraient que plus considérables. Ghassoulien et Tahounien nous semblent témoigner tous deux d'influences mésopotamiennes aussi bien qu'égyptiennes; il se peut cependant que l'Egypte ait emprunté à nos industries certaines de leurs caractéristiques de provenance orientale.

Quoi qu'il en soit, on peut dire que le Ghassoulien paraît plus archaïque que le Tahounien. Il semble cependant que la fusion partielle de ces deux industries dans le Cananéen doive nous faire admettre une certaine contemporanéité dans leur développement sur la terre de Canaan. En outre, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, l'indépendance complète des deux premières industries entre elles, ne permet pas d'envisager entre les deux une filiation, qui aurait certainement conservé des traces de l'industrie mère.

Toutes deux ne peuvent donc être le fait que de peuplades différentes, peut-être étrangères à ce pays. Les industries qu'elles nous ont laissées ont déjà atteint, en effet, leur complet développement et nous ne saurions, pour le moment, attribuer la tradition de ces industries à aucune des cultures précédentes de la Palestine, du moins à aucune des cultures actuellement connues.²

¹ Les notes publiées l'année dernière (L.-CH. WATELIN, *Notes sur l'industrie lithique de Kish (Iraq)*, dans *L'Anthropologie*, 1929, p. 65) sur l'industrie lithique de Kish, sont trop sommaires pour autoriser une comparaison.

² Nous ne pouvons cependant nous défendre de voir un certain air de famille entre le type ciseau du Ghassoulien et certains "rabots" du Paléolithique supérieur de Palestine. Voir ce qui est dit plus loin, p. 221, sur une origine possible du Tahounien.

Sans entamer autrement, pour le moment, la question de l'industrie lithique du Br. II, nous croyons pouvoir résumer ainsi nos conclusions sur les industries de la pierre pendant les deux premières phases de l'âge du bronze, en parfait accord, d'ailleurs, avec les données de la céramique:

Bronze II

Larges éléments de
faucille et couteaux.

CANANÉEN

Industrie de la base
des tell̄s dits canané-
ens et de quelques
grottes. *Hachettes à
taille transversale et
"racloirs en éventail."*

TAHOUNIEN

Industrie des stations
de surface à *hachettes
à taille tranversale et
"retouchoirs."*

GHASSOULIEN

Industrie à instruments du
type "*ciseau*" à *taille longitu-
dinale* et à "*racloirs en éven-
tail.*"

Bronze I

IV.- L'INDUSTRIE MICROLITHIQUE DE REHOBOTH

Avant d'atteindre le village de *Rehoboth*, la route qui va de *Jaffa* à *Gaza* le long des dunes du littoral, croise la voie ferrée, à quelques dizaines de mètres à l'ouest de la gare de *Rehoboth*. A 400 mètres au sud du croisement, au bord droit de la route, s'étend sur le sable à moitié durci un petit atelier préhistorique.

La faible étendue de cette station et ses limites bien nettes rendent pratiquement nulles les possibilités de mélange. Cet avantage, rare dans les gisements de surface et qui permet de s'assurer de la contemporanéité des types représentés, donne à cette station l'intérêt qui nous a semblé justifier la publication de ces quelques lignes. D'autres gisements voisins, comme celui incomparablement plus riche des dunes de *Jaffa*,¹ présentent un tel enchevêtrement d'industries que tout rapprochement typologique est pour le moins aléatoire.

Matériel lithique.— Toutes les pièces sont taillées dans un même silex bistré et ne présentent que de très rares et légères traces de patine. Cette particularité est remarquable, les pièces de *Jaffa*, comme généralement toutes celles qui sont soumises au contact des sables, étant toujours profondément cacholongées. Peut-être faut-il attribuer cette absence de patine au fait que les sables de la station de *Rehoboth* sont pratiquement fixés, car nous avons observé que dans la station de *Ramleh*,² là où les sables sont durcis, nombre de pièces sont dépourvues de patine. On l'a d'ailleurs déjà bien souvent constaté, en fait de patine "ce n'est pas le temps qui agit, mais bien le milieu,"³ même en surface.

Retouchoirs.— Deux pièces, du genre des retouchoirs campigiens d'Europe,⁴ ont été recueillies.

La pièce la plus parfaite, longue de 64 mm., provient d'un éclat assez épais (12 mm.) qui, sur un des bords, a été rogné par retouches

¹ *J.P.O.S.*, 1929, p. 116.

² *J.P.O.S.*, 1929, p. 119.

³ HENRY MARTIN, *Recherches sur l'évolution du Moustérien dans le gisement de la Quina (Charente)*, II, p. 86.

⁴ J. DECHELETTE, *op. cit.*, I, p. 331; R. VAUFREY, *op. cit.*, p. 169 fig. 52, n° 4.



Fig. 12.- РЕХОБОТ, 1, "Retouchoir"; 2, grattoir (?); 3, 4, microlithes à dos rabattu; 5, 6, burins; 7, couteau; 8, 9, microlithes à encoches.

(Gr. nat.)

pour obtenir une pièce plus étroite. Toutes les retouches sont habiles et les lignes de la pièce bien régulières; un bout est lancéolé, l'autre tronqué par retouches et légèrement convexe (fig. 12 n° 1).

On rencontre en grand nombre des instruments analogues dans le Tahounien, mais la technique de la taille diffère: tandis qu'à *Rehoboth* la pièce provient d'un éclat, elle semble, dans l'industrie

tahounienne, dériver directement d'une bille de silex¹; en outre, dans cette dernière culture, le retouchoir a les deux bouts sensiblement égaux (fig. 10).

Grattoirs.— Parfois ronds et minuscules (15 à 20 mm. de diamètre), les grattoirs sont généralement sur bout de lame, les retouches n'affectant le plus souvent qu'une extrémité. La longueur moyenne de ces pièces est de 35 mm. .

Une pièce (fig. 12, n° 2), retaillée sur tout le pourtour, atteint cependant 55 mm. . La base est épaisse, le conchoïde de percussion étant bien proéminent; vierge de retouches, cette base porte les traces d'un martelage intense et des traces indiscutables de poli de l'usage. Le frottement de cette base contre le manche dont la pièce était vraisemblablement munie peut expliquer cette particularité; les cas analogues ne sont pas rares dans d'autres gisements. Le bout actif est tronqué par retaille abrupte, à la façon de certains grattoirs aurignaciens; seulement, alors que ces derniers ont les deux moitiés latérales d'une même extrémité arrondies et symétriques, ici une moitié, celle qui rejoint le bord le plus mince de la pièce, forme avec celui-ci un angle droit; l'autre par contre est arrondie et donne naissance à un bord à retaille plus abrupte, pas assez cependant pour qu'il puisse être dit *rabattu*. L'instrument aurait-il servi de 'couteau?' L'absence sur les bords latéraux de poli de l'usage ne permet pas de l'affirmer.

Burins.— Tous sont minuscules: le plus petit mesure 15 mm. de long et plus grand 23. Burins droits ou burins d'angle, tous sont polyédriques, (fig. 12, n° 5 et 6).

Lamelles.— Les lamelles sans retouches sont abondantes. La longueur moyenne est de 25 mm. .

Lamelles à dos rabattu.— Nous n'avons ici ni croissants ni trapèzes ni formes géométriques mais, comme à *Jaffa* où ces trois catégories sont extrêmement rares (la dernière, à part le trapèze, étant totalement absente), des pièces dont le bord non retouché est droit, l'autre, qui porte de minuscules retouches,² formant arc de cercle

¹ Cf.: D. BUZY, *op. cit.*, p. 563.

² Ici, comme à *Jaffa*, c'est presque toujours le bord droit qui est retouché.

à partir d'un tiers de la longueur (fig. 12, n° 3 et 4), qui est en moyenne de 26 mm. .

Des lamelles plus larges et rectangulaires, également à dos rabattu, portent le poli de l'usage sur le bord opposé, que celui-ci soit uni ou muni de denticules (fig. 12, n° 7).

Encoches.— Nombreuses sont les lamelles qui portent une minuscule et unique encoche (fig. 12, n° 8 et 9).¹ Celle-ci est généralement latérale et affecte alors le bord droit ou le bord gauche indifféremment. Ces encoches ont-elles servi à rendre l'emmanchement plus solide, comme la position la plus fréquente de l'encoche le laisserait croire, ou bien constituaient-elles de petits grattoirs concaves comme les traces d'usage que portent certaines le feraient penser ?

Perçoir.— Une pointe ogivale, à talon uniface, a été aménagée en perçoir. A travers une épaisse patine blanche, les retouches ont mis à vif un silex gris clair.²

Nuclei.— Minuscules et généralement en forme de sabot, ils ont souvent été aménagés en grattoirs.

CONCLUSIONS

L'industrie de *Rebbooth*, caractérisée par les microlithes à dos rabattu et terminés en arc de cercle, n'a pas encore été trouvée en position stratigraphique en Palestine où, cependant, elle abonde dans plusieurs stations de surface.

On trouve, il est vrai, quelques-uns de ces microlithes dans le *Natoufien*,³ industrie mésolithique qui se compose presque exclusivement de minuscules *croissants* à dos rabattu.

¹ On rencontre en France des pièces analogues : cf. J. DÉCHELETTE, *op. cit.*, p. 509, fig. 182; M. et S.-J. PÉQUART, *Un gisement mésolithique en Bretagne*, dans *L'Anthropologie*, 1928, p. 480 et fig. 2, 4; L. COULONGES, *Le gisement préhistorique du Martinet*, dans *ibid.*, p. 501.

² Les cas analogues de retaille postérieure sont fréquents dans tous les pays et à toutes les époques. Quelques exemples typiques dans : A. VAYSON DE PRADENNE, *La station paléolithique du Mont-Dol*, dans *L'Anthropologie*, XXXIX, p. 33.

³ Sur cette industrie, voir plus haut p. 201, note 1.

Notre industrie ne comprend aucun de ces croissants, mais possède un élément nouveau, qui paraît absent dans le Paléolithique supérieur aussi bien que dans le Natoufien, le "retouchoir" biface, instrument qui abonde dans l'industrie tahounienne.

Plutôt mésolithique par ses microlithes *à dos rabattu*, qui n'existent pas dans les cultures contemporaines des métaux,¹ l'industrie de cette petite station semble, d'autre part, s'apparenter, par ses "retouchoirs," à l'industrie tahounienne, qu'elle pourrait même précéder d'assez près.

¹ Nous l'avons déjà dit, nous ne croyons pas qu'il ait existé en Palestine, entre le Mésolithique et les cultures contemporaines des métaux, une civilisation véritablement néolithique (voir plus haut, p. 201).

A SAMARITAN INSCRIPTION FROM KAFR QALLIL.

I. BEN-ZEVIE

(JERUSALEM)

There is a stone in the Government Museum, which contains twelve lines in Samaritan Script. One of the Samaritan priests informs me that until three years ago the stone was in Kafr Qallil, on one of the slopes of Mount Garizim, and was taken thence to the Museum.

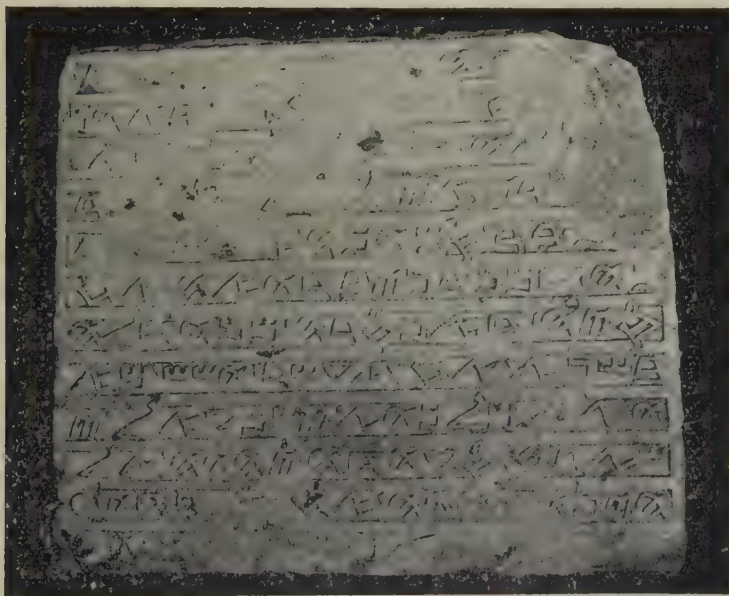
Kafr Qallil is a village situated at the foot of Mount Garizim about two kilometers South of Jacob's Well on the Jerusalem-Nāblus road, and three and a half kilometers North-West of 'Awerta, (the last being the burial place of Eleazar, Ithamar, Phinehas, and the seventy elders). For centuries a Samaritan settlement has been maintained at 'Awerta, and the priestly family of today traces its origin to 'Awerta.

The stone is limestone and the writing on it has preserved its legibility, save for the first four lines and the last line, which have been effaced in whole or in part. The stone is 55 cm. high, 64 cm. long, and 8-10 cm. thick. The lines are separated from one another by panels, along the line, such as may be found in some Hebrew inscriptions of the First Temple era, each phrase being terminated by a punctuation mark in the form of an asterisk.

Only a few isolated letters have been preserved from the first and the last lines, and it is, therefore, difficult to fill in the gaps.

I should like to draw the reader's attention to line three and the letters supplemented by me : (כנש)חר ק(ר)י(שת)ר : for on that I base my assumption that the Tablet relates to the building of a synagogue.

Below is a reproduction of the inscription and its transcription in square characters. The name of "Kiryat Kafr Qallil" of the ninth century is known to us from the Samaritan Chronicle, "Toleda," published by A. NEUBAUER.¹ At that village lived Isaac Ben Halef. The said Isaac Ben Halef built a stone and a terrace² at the *kneshta* (synagogue) in Beth Bazin, another neighbouring village, and his name is engraved on the middle stone. Khirbat Beit Bazin is now situated in the vicinity of Kafr Qaddûm, six miles west of Nâblus.



Here is the content of the tablet in Hebrew (square) characters.

צ ה לה (1)

. באהן א : (2)

¹ "Chronique Samaritaine," *Journal Asiatique*, Dec., 1869, p. 419.

² Or balustrade and pulpit.

- (3) (כנש)תה. ק (ד)י(שת)ה. נברא
 (4) בחר. (ג)ריויס. (בנ)י (א)ן. א(ב)ר.
 (5) (ח)ם. בר אמונר. אביתר
 (6) נה. דמן בני. בדואה. אר
 (7) סיר. דאפסרר. ממהרר.
 (8) בשנר. אחד עשר. ושש. מא
 (9) ור. למכור. ישמעאל. י
 (10) שתבח. סעודר. יהוח אל
 (11) הינו. יהוה. אחד. לבדו-
 (12);דו-

The date in lines 8-9 "In the Year six hundred and eleven of the reign of Ismail" corresponds to 1214 A.D., i.e., to the period after the conquest of the country by Saladin from the Crusaders. We know from the Jewish travellers of that time that there still existed in those days a dense Samaritan population in Nâblus and its vicinity, in Ascalon and apparently in Caesarea and in the Gaza District.

Rabbi Judah Al-Charizi states that in his days (1216) their number throughout the country hardly totalled one thousand. But it is not clear whether that figure refers to souls or *men* only.

The names Abyetrana (and Yetrana) in lines 5-6 are well known to us from the *colophones* of the Samaritans. For the first time we come across Jacob Ben Abyetrana in 1364/5 in Egypt. We find the Elder Yetrana as a judge of the Samaritan country. On another occasion we find Seddka Ben Abi Uzi Ben Joseph of the Yetrana in 1484. Abi Uzi Ben Joseph is also mentioned later in 1495. At the end of the sixteenth century we find Joseph Ben Isaac of Yetrana from Damascus (1578). The inscription on the stone brings back the Yetrana dynasty to the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The Samaritan Chronicles inform us that their synagogues were looted and ruined in the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century. Many Samaritans were exiled and captured, including members of priestly families, while the remainder fled. I was informed by the Samaritans that they know from tradition that during the persecution only five families survived in the country.

One of them fled to Zerifin (Şarafand), near Jaffa (the Marhib family which exists to this day belongs to the Zerifin group). The second fled to Gaza (the Matar and Zvi Gazali families belong to them), the third probably to Sura near Nâblus (Sirawi), the fourth (the priestly family) to 'Awerta, the fifth remained in Nâblus (the Zeddka family). It would appear, therefore, that the settlement at Kafr Qallil had disappeared at that time. But it may be that at one time it was revived, as there prevails a tradition amongst Nâblus Samaritans that there existed a Samaritan settlement in Kafr Qallil at a not very distant time.

Commentary to text of the Tablet:

1st line: This may be supplemented to read הדרה טב (הדרה), the addition to be inserted at the beginning of the line.

2nd line: באהן, as in (colloquial) Arabic *han*, i.e. "here."

3rd line: נברא from the Arabic "بدأ" which means "begin."

4th line: בניאן-בנין — In similar cases the so-called full orthography (i.e. with diacritical vowels) is common not only in Samaritan, but also in Talmudical literature and in Gaonica.

5-6 line: The name "Ebiatarna" is familiar from the Sam. Chronicles.

Thus in the 14th century we come across a "Jacob Ben Ebiatarna" 1364/5 A.D. (v. *Pentateuch der Samaritaner* by AUGUST VON GAHL.)

6th line: "דמן בני ברוואר." The name ברואר is known from a reference in the Samaritan "Toleda" (Chronicle) in which it is stated, "And there are the sons of Shalem-Isaac Bedua son of Shafat or *Bnai Bedua*." The name Abraham is not without interest inasmuch as it is mentioned in Ibn Kelili Text (line 4-5), with the addition "who is of the Bnai Bedua." It should also be added that the phrase quoted from the "Toleda" is immediately followed by another phrase, containing the name "Haleph Ben Ishak Ben Abraham" which reminds us of "Isaac Ben

Halef of the sons of Matar," mentioned above, who was living in the same Kafr Qallîl, though in another period.

7th line: אפסררדאפרשר (letters transposed), means הפריש מזה דלה i.e., contributed of his own, of his property. This is a common expression in Samaritan. It is interesting to note that a similar expression was in use in Hebrew, i.e. מן ידיד in the Na^aren inscription (v. "Subscriptions from the old Synagogues in Palestine" by Prof. S. KLEIN in *Yedioth Hammakbon Lemaddaee Hayahaduth* (No. 2).

10th line: Sauda-his assistant, i.e., the one who assisted the founder. The epithet "ר' אלהינו ר' אחה" is the end of Shema Israel. The emphasis in לבדו reminds us of the well known Greek inscriptions εἰς ἑαυτὸς at Emmaus, which many authorities believe to be a Samaritan inscription.

LE BAPTISTÈRE DE SBEITA

Le Rév. Père A. MALLON

(JERUSALEM)

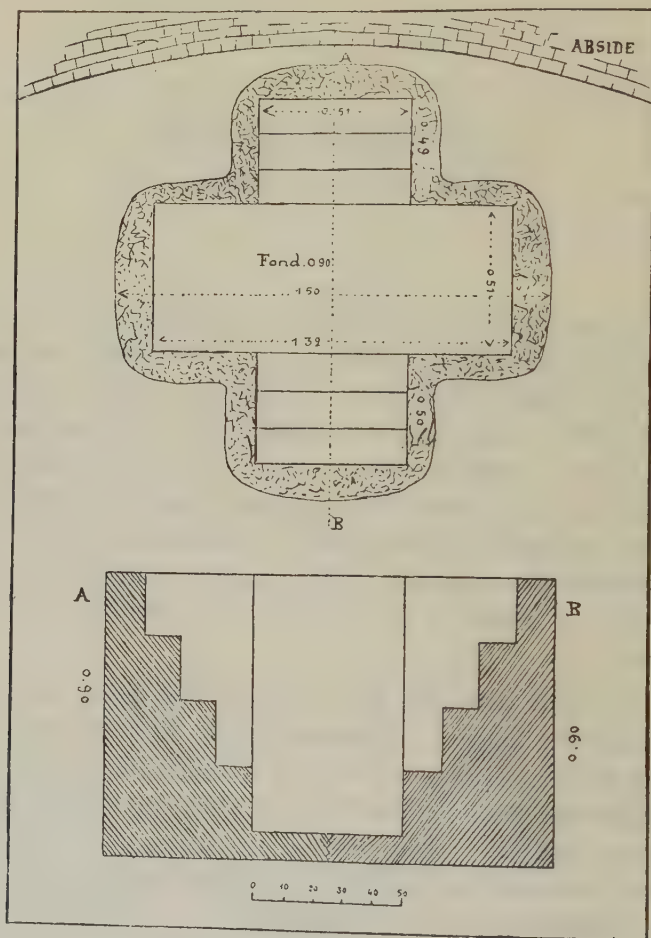
L'église septentrionale de Sbeita dans le Négeb garde toujours, debout, isolées au milieu des ruines ces cinq absides qui impressionnent si fortement le voyageur au sortir de l'affreux désert environnant. En réalité, l'église proprement dite ne comprenait que les trois absides usuelles avec les trois nefs correspondantes. La quatrième, accolée au côté Sud, était une chapelle adjacente. La cinquième, le long de la précédente, est également présentée sous la qualification générique de chapelle par les explorateurs.¹ Comme on pouvait s'y attendre, les faits ont démontré que c'était le baptistère.

On avait déjà remarqué dans la conque des restes de peinture figurant des personnages. WIEGAND y voit trois personnages et interprète le tableau comme une "Transfiguration du Christ" ou "Glorification de Marie."² En fait, il n'y a deux personnages actuellement reconnaissables. Dans mais divers visites, je n'ai jamais pu distinguer les traces d'un troisième. En 1926, les PP. LAVERGNE et TONNEAU avaient eu la même impression et le traits encore visibles leur avaient paru représenter le baptême de Jésus-Christ par Jean-

¹ Sur les églises de Sbeita voir : A. MUSIL, *Arabia Petraea*, II *Edom*, 2, p. 37-43. C. L. WOOLLEY, *The Wilderness of Sin (Pal. Expl. Fund, Annual 1914-1915)*. TH. WIEGAND, *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des Deutsch-türkischen Denkmalschutz-Kommandos*, Heft 1. *Sinai*, p. 78-79.

² *Sinai*, p. 79.

Baptiste. Cette interprétation est désormais confirmée par la présence du baptistère dans l'abside.



Dans notre voyage de 1929, j'avais déjà remarqué la cuve baptismale. Elle était alors presque entièrement dégagée et à tout hasard j'en pris les mesures. Je pensais alors que ce déblaiement était l'œuvre régulièrement accomplie de quelque archéologue ou expédition scientifique. Mes demandes de renseignements à ce sujet sont restées sans résultat.

En 1930, visitant de nouveau Sbeïta avec la caravane de l'Institut Biblique Pontifical, nous eûmes la preuve qu'il s'agissait de fouilles clandestines accomplies par des chercheurs de trésors. Le déblaiement en effet avait été continué vers le centre de la nef en large tranchée et avait brisé tout un côté du baptistère. Poursuivant leur œuvre néfaste, les pillards avaient même défoncé le pavé dans l'espoir de trouver de l'or au-dessous. Je crois donc opportun de publier le croquis pris dans ces voyages.

Le baptistère, un monolithe en calcaire tendre du pays, est cruciforme et mesure 1 m. 50 de chaque côté. Les deux bras opposés de la croix, dans le sens de la longueur de la nef, sont taillés en escalier de trois marches chacun. La cuve baptismale est rectangulaire et mesure 1 m. 32 de longueur par 0 m. 51 de largeur et 0 m. 90 de profondeur. Le monolithe est placé tout près de la paroi au centre de l'abside.

D'après WOOLLEY, cette "chapelle" est postérieure à l'église.¹ En tout cas, Sbeïta ayant été détruit au VII^e siècle après J.-C., le baptistère date au moins du VI^e.

Cette forme de baptistère à plan crucial rectangulaire, possédant deux escaliers opposés, se trouvait dans l'église byzantine de Tyr, avec la seule différence que celui-ci avait deux marches seulement au lieu de trois.² Les trois degrés se voient, d'un seul côté, dans la piscine également rectangulaire du musée de Constantinople, regardée généralement comme un baptistère d'époque byzantine.³ Elle avait peut-être une signification symbolique.

¹ *Annual*, p. 84.

² CABROL, *Dict. d'arch. chrétienne*, II, p. 435.

³ *Ibid*, p. 432.

PALÄSTINA: DIE LANDSCHAFT IN KARTEN UND BILDERN
by ROBERT KOEPPPEL, S. J., Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1930. 174
pp., 200 illustrations.

In recent years geography has adopted the word "landscape" (*Landschaft*) as one of its shibboleths. Geography is *Landschaftskunde*. Not so long ago the chief interest lay in the study of geographic influences on human life and history and much nonsense was perpetrated in the name of causal geography. Nowadays no little importance is attached to the relation of man to his geographic environment, but geographic studies have a different orientation.

The first duty of the geographer is accurately to describe the manifold variety of scene in the various regions of the earth.

He understands this to mean that a certain area, or landscape, with everything to be found in it, men, animals and plants, as well as all its inanimate constituents, as produced by nature and human activity, are to be regarded as a "naïvely given section of reality." As Vidal de la Blache has said, the earth is not merely the scene upon which the activity of man unfolds itself, this scene is itself living. A part of his task is indicated by Croce's dictum that "the geographer who is describing a landscape has the same task as a painter." That is only a part of the geographer's work, but it is a basic part.

Father KOEPPPEL'S volume undertakes to perform this task for Palestine through maps and pictures with brief descriptions and comments. The map is not all of geography but it is a highly successful solution of the problem of morphologic representation. The picture

is another such solution, and, when both terrestrial and aerial photography are freely used in connection with a carefully prepared set of ordinary and relief maps and schematic geological sections, the result is highly satisfactory. This *Landschaftskunde* or *Landschaftsatlas* may well serve as a "preparation for a modern scientific description of Palestine." Indeed no other work exists which gives so clear a picture of the land itself.

Moreover it goes much farther than the mere picture of the landscape painter. The geological explanations of how the land came to be what it is, so necessary to a true conception of its real character, are presented in maps, plans, and diagrams as well as in numerous pictures. In fact one of the chief values of the book is its constant use of geology to explain how relief came to be what it is. Pictures from various angles of the author's too much advertised relief maps are another great aid to a conception of the peculiarities of the relief of Palestine. The almost prodigal use of outline maps to present various features of the landscape, the geological faults and flexures, the chief elevations and mountain chains and peaks, the watersheds, the river and valley systems, and the water supply is fully justified by the clarity of impression produced. The numerous bibliographical references are most useful, especially those found in the Appendix on "The Study of Palestine."

It is easy to criticize this really great accomplishment, for sins of omission rather than of commission. Climate is represented only by two meagre pages of statistics. One asks why human activity should be so little represented, why two sketch maps should be devoted to settlements of the stone age and none to other periods. Why should stone-age tools be pictured in a beautiful colour plate, but man's more highly developed activities neglected? There are minor oversights and errors. For example in the valuable map of Palestinian prehistory (No. 49), there are no dolmens indicated near Kerâzeh. In the map Fig. No. 110 Bethany is written for Bethlehem, in No. 118 'Avtuf stands for 'Artuf. Not all the photographs are successful.

These are but minor blemishes in a most valuable work. A reviewer must find some faults if only to prove that he has read more than the table of contents. The book is to be most highly commended to students of the Bible. Even the professional Bible student, the theological professor, will find a vast amount of useful information by which he can profit. No work dealing with the historical portions of the Bible or with Palestinian history can be properly written without constant reference to material such as this book contains.

C. C. M.

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¹ This list has been corrected up to December 31st, 1930.
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